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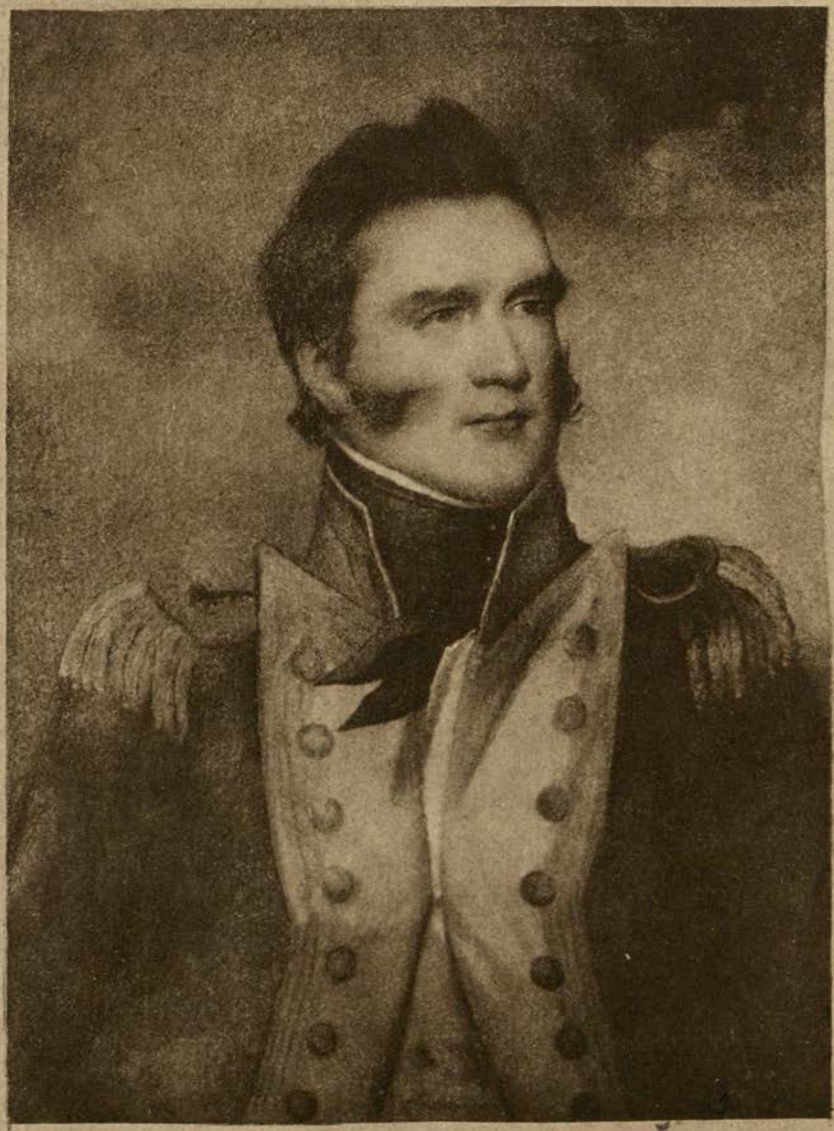
COMMODORE SIR JOHN HAYES
(1767–1831)



John Hayes

COMMODORE
SIR JOHN HAYES

HIS VOYAGE AND LIFE

(1767–1831)

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ADMIRAL D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S VOYAGE OF 1792–3

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BY

IDA LEE

(MRS. CHARLES BRUCE MARRIOTT)

AUTHOR OF "THE COMING OF THE BRITISH TO AUSTRALIA," ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

My purpose in writing this book is to endeavour to record the discoveries and to trace the career of Commodore Sir John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine. Apart from his maritime and geographical explorations, I would like to draw attention in this volume to the important part that he once took in Indian affairs. His long residence of nearly fifty years in the East, during many of which he held high administrative posts, enabled him to acquire a wide knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, which to the day of his death was at the disposal of the governing authorities. It is hardly possible to sum up briefly the many services rendered by him on land and sea in the building up of the vast Indian Empire of to-day, but he must be credited with a valuable share in that work.

The story narrated has been compiled from MS. letters, family records, official notices, and newspapers of the period. My grateful thanks are due to the Editors of the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, *Empire Review*, and *Tasmanian Mail*, for permission to use material which was published by me in their columns. The discovery of the chart inscribed "to Sir John Shore by his faithful servant John Hayes" is due to the

kind research of Mr. Perrin, of the Admiralty Library. I am also indebted to many public officials in the British Museum, India Office, and other Libraries for much helpful information.

The voyage of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux was so nearly contemporaneous, and the route he followed was so closely coincident with that of Sir John Hayes, that some account of it has been added for purposes of comparison and reference.

It is perhaps proper to state here that the figures of latitude and longitude are those given by the old navigators, whether English or French, in MS. and printed books.

The illustrations are reproduced by Mr. R. B. Fleming.

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MEMORIAL VERSES

By Agnes Strickland

The following verses by Agnes Strickland are included by kind permission of Mrs. Nora O'Reilly, a great-granddaughter of Sir John Hayes, who possesses the MS. copy of them. They do not appear among Miss Strickland's published works.

Victorious rider of the deep !
Thy bold career is o'er,
And thy unconquered flag shall sweep
The subject main no more.

That glorious flag, brave Hayes, is furl'd !
And hushed each thundering gun,
Fame's mournful voice has told the world
Thy last stern battle's won.

Thy bark a peaceful port has found,
From all the storms of life,
And though wild billows rage around,
Thou'rt anchor'd from their strife.

Though not beneath the solemn shade
Of minster's hallow'd dome,
Wert thou by weeping Britain laid
Within a trophied tomb,

Yet in thy lovely Eastern Isle,[1]
With fadeless verdure drest,
Which meets the morning sun's first smile
Thou'st ta'en a calmer rest.

[1] One of the Cocos Group.

And where their tall heads to the breeze,
The plumy cocoas wave,
Amidst the deep blue Indian seas,
Is seen thy lonely grave.

There undisturbed, thy ashes sleep,
Brave chief, in holy trust!
While Glory shall admiring keep
Her vigils o'er thy dust,

Till the dread summons of that day
Is heard o'er land and main,
Which wakes the cold unconscious clay
And bids it live again.

PART I

TRACK OF THE "DUKE OF CLARENCE" AND THE "DUCHESS."

ERRATA

Page 165, line 7, *for* "his ship" *read* "the ship."
,, 220, ,, 16, *read* "and they began."
,, 237, ,, 12, *for* "lessor" *read* "lesser."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION. EARLY CAREER

Captain John Hayes an insufficiently recognised explorer—Cumberland his native County—He enters the Bombay Marine—His early service at sea and ashore—1767–1792.

THE complete story of the voyage of Captain John Hayes has never been written, consequently his discoveries have been forgotten. As an explorer he is unknown and as a navigator unrecognised. The fact that the name of Derwent was given to the river on which Hobart now stands, by him, is seldom mentioned. Even then, little reference is made to the expedition which he led so successfully through the South Pacific within four and twenty years of Captain Cook's discovery of the eastern coast of Australia. His journal containing an account of the difficulties which he met with and overcame is missing, but there is in existence sufficient evidence to prove that England may well be proud of John Hayes.

He not only visited Tasmania. His ships—the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*—anchored in the harbours of New Caledonia, of the

Louisiade Archipelago, and of New Guinea, at a time when these coasts were very imperfectly outlined upon the map of the world, and when the inland regions that lay beyond them were wholly unknown to Europeans. In New Guinea he established a spice factory and founded a settlement which existed for at least eighteen months after he had left for India. It was not recognised by the East India Company or it might now be a flourishing British Colony.

Hayes's voyage extended over a period of rather less than two years, and was beset with danger and hardship. In Tasmania the French Admiral, D'Entrecasteaux, had preceded him. But from Tasmania to New Guinea Hayes steered his vessels by a track which led through seas that few mariners had traversed, where uncharted islands were the rule and not, as in our own times, the exception, and where the ships' course often lay through intricate channels or amid dangerous coral reefs, with now and again currents of a force to try the knowledge of the most experienced seaman. In these waters, unknown to civilisation, there were no dockyards where a damaged ship could be cleaned or repaired, and at the majority of the ports of call only an anchorage where the food supply was limited to a few edible plants or fish, and where even fresh water was not always a certainty.

Twice the scurvy, that scourge of sailors in the old days of sailing ships, attacked his crews. On

the occasion of the second outbreak Captain Hayes himself did not escape, and the wonder is that any on board the vessels lived to reach India. In this, as in every other trial throughout his long voyage, Hayes showed himself a thoroughly capable commander. The safety of his ships and the well-being of those on board were ever the first object of his care; and if a natural longing tempted him to stay and explore some of the distant countries at which his ships touched, he never allowed himself to forget or in any way to neglect the primary object of his mission. Even when he was stricken by disease he could not be induced to quit his post, and with a crew reduced to the verge of helplessness he was able to bring the ship to a port where the necessary fresh fruit and vegetables were obtained.

The description of Hayes's voyage from New Caledonia to Dorey Harbour in New Guinea especially proves that he was not only endowed with a strong will, but also with the instinct, foresight, and judgment of a born navigator. James Cook himself could not have taken two similarly equipped ships through the openings of New Caledonia's western coast more skilfully, or have manœuvred vessels encumbered with sick and dying seamen into Dorey Harbour in a more seamanlike way.

New Caledonia is entirely circled by coral reefs, its western coast being most to be feared, and John Hayes was the first European to anchor off

it and to come in contact with its natives. He was the first sea captain to enter the harbours within its coral barrier and to take soundings of their depths. He explored the reefs to the south-east and south-west without a single mishap. After leaving New Caledonia, he coasted the southernmost islands of the Louisiades and tried to find a passage between them and the mainland of New Guinea, but did not succeed. He states, however, that before doing so he discovered where the coastline of New Guinea ended, and that he saw " three islands at its south-eastern extremity." He then doubled back to Rossel Island and, rounding Cape Deliverance, anchored off its eastern shores, being the first European to land in the island. From the Louisiades he sailed to New Guinea, intending to steer through Dampier Strait and to range the whole of the north coast, but strong currents forced him to take a yet more northerly passage between the Duke of York Group and New Britain. He claims to have been the first navigator to discover the strait through which he then passed. Upon reaching Dorey Harbour, in New Guinea, the *Duchess* was condemned, because her timbers were absolutely unsound after their long voyage, but there is no mention in any of the official correspondence that either she or her consort received so much as a scratch during the explorations.

It might be thought, even without taking into account the career of Hayes as a discoverer, that the prominent position he occupied as

an officer in the Bombay Marine would have entitled him to a place in the pages of the Dictionary of National Biography. But no mention of his name is to be found there. Many of those who claim descent from him have endeavoured to trace the history of his early years, unfortunately with little success. He was born in 1767, and it is practically certain that Cumberland was his native county, although his actual birthplace has not been ascertained. The records of the India Office show that he had at least one brother, Fletcher Hayes, who also went to India in boyhood, and became, in 1783, a writer in the East India Company. Two years earlier, on September 7th, 1781, John, at the age of thirteen, had joined the Bombay Marine, thus commencing a career in the Company's service which extended over nearly half a century. The two boys appear to have possessed the interest and friendship of Sir Henry Fletcher, a prominent director of the Company, and an old Indian newspaper states that the baronet's wife was their cousin, mentioning the fact as the reason why Captain Hayes gave the name "Lady Fletcher's Isle" to an island off the northern shores of New Guinea.[1] It may safely be said, however, that John Hayes, from the time that he joined the Bombay Marine and onwards, relied little upon friends at Court. For ten

[1] Sir Henry Fletcher was for eighteen years a director of the East India Company, and was also member for a division of Cumberland from 1768 to 1806. A baronetcy was conferred on him in 1782.

years he was constantly on active service, now on sea, now on land, the period being a stormy one for England in India, when every fighting man was wanted, and young Hayes seems to have been sent wherever fighting was going on.

The officers of the Bombay Marine played no small part in the operations against the forces of the French united with those of Hyder Ali and his great son Tippoo Sahib. Early in December, 1782, authentic news of Hyder Ali's death reached the British camp. In consequence, Tippoo suddenly disappeared from Piniani (Ponnani), where he had been in full force opposing Colonel Humberstone's little army. The knowledge of his presence there had determined the Government to send General Mathews with a strong naval and military force to the relief of the British, the transports leaving Bombay under convoy of the British man-of-war *Africa*. Mathews sailed in the *Intrepid*, and on board the Company's ship *Bombay*, 28 guns, sailing under the command of Commodore Emptage, John Hayes served as a midshipman.

General Mathews determined to land at Merjee, and after capturing the fort of that name, succeeded in taking several towns, though Ananpore and Mangalore held out. The former of these was carried on February 14th, but Tippoo's forces defended Mangalore until the month of March, when it surrendered. Hayes, then only fifteen years old, assisted in these operations and received his baptism of fire before

Mangalore. He executed his first notable exploit in command of the launch of the *Bombay*, by cutting out two of the enemy's ships in Mangalore Roads in a manner which won for him the notice of his Commodore and the warm praise of many of his superior officers.

He served as midshipman in the *Bombay* until 1787, gaining promotion to the rank of Second Lieutenant in December of the following year. Then he was appointed to a ship named the *Hawke*, on board of which he remained for twelve months, passing from her to the *Scorpion*, and later on to the *Drake*, a cruiser commanded by Captain John Thistleton. The vessels mentioned were stationed at Bussorah (Basra), Calcutta, Canton, Prince of Wales's Island, and other places, each commission bringing fresh experience. France and England were at war during the greater part of this period, and before young Hayes had reached his twentieth year he had seen more fighting than falls to the lot of a modern naval officer in a lifetime.

In 1790 war with Tippoo again broke out, and officers and men of the Bombay Marine were formed into coast battalions and landed to assist the British troops. It had been planned that General Robert Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, should reduce Tippoo's territory on the coast of Malabar, and that simultaneously General Medows should endeavour to penetrate into Mysore. Hayes was among those who started with Medows, and was present with Colonel Stuart's division at the

capture of Palguatcherry (Palghat) close to the General's headquarters at Coimbatore. After several engagements, during which no great advantage over Tippoo was obtained, all idea of being able to invade Mysore seems to have been abandoned, and Medows marched to Tiagar and afterwards as far as Trinomaly (Trinomalai), when Lord Cornwallis directed him to return to the Presidency.

General Abercromby, who had been unable to take the field until the first week in December, 1790, moved so rapidly and successfully that he soon made up for lost time. On the 14th a combined military and naval force was advanced to the southward and eastward of Cannanore, to which Hayes and other Marine officers were attached. The height of Carlie was attacked without delay, and surrendered the following morning at daybreak. On the 17th, the Fort of Cannanore was captured, while the evening of the same day saw the fall of Billiapatam (Beliapatam), and by January 5th the whole of Malabar had been wrested from Tippoo and become a British possession. In 1792, following the example of the French, who had already made peace with England, Tippoo formally laid down his arms and submitted to Lord Cornwallis.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATION AND DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION

Hayes promoted First Lieutenant—John McCluer—The Dutch and their spice trade—Hayes, inspired by McCluer, turns merchant-venturer—He fits out an expedition—The *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* start for New Guinea—Their course is changed—1793.

WHEN the war with Tippoo was over, Hayes returned to Calcutta, and was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. It was then that he heard of an opportunity to trade in spices. His informant, John McCluer, was a Bombay Marine officer, slightly senior to himself, who apparently was his close friend, and with whom the plan of making an expedition to New Guinea seems to have originated.

McCluer was then in southern waters. Shortly before, when in command of the Honourable Company's ships *Panther* and *Endeavour*, he had been instructed to carry out extensive surveys of the coastline of New Guinea for the Indian Government, and more particularly of the shores in the vicinity of what is now known as McCluer Inlet.[1]

[1] Curiously enough, this name, which obviously was conferred by McCluer to commemorate his own performance, has been ascribed to a Dutch voyager. Stanford in his "Compendium of Geography and Travel," a well-known standard work, in mentioning the explorations of the Dutch in New Guinea, states;

Before he surveyed the inlet, McCluer had made a map of the Pelew Islands, where he was ordered to report the death of Prince Lee Boo,[1] and afterwards, as his charts show, had skirted the southern shores of New Guinea in an easterly direction.[2] He then took his ships towards the north coast of Australia, and made Arnhem Land in longitude 135¼ E. of Greenwich. He steered along this part of the Australian coast until it was found to dip away southward and then left it.[3]

While making charts of New Guinea, McCluer had opportunities of studying its natural features, being struck by the fertility of the inland country. To his surprise he saw among other spices growing there a tree which he felt certain was none other than the round or Banda nutmeg, a fruit that could, he knew, always command a high price in the Indian and Chinese markets. The

" We find their voyages commemorated in numerous Dutch names, as Geelvink Bay, Schouten's Islands and McCluer Inlet."

[1] Son of the King of the Pelew Islands.

[2] Captain Matthew Flinders, R.N., the Australian navigator, tells us that "perhaps the only account of McCluer's surveys is that given in the charts published by Alexander Dalrymple in 1792." Indian newspapers of those days, however, Keate's " History of the Pelew Islands," and Lieutenant Low's " History of the Indian Navy," supply fuller particulars of what he accomplished.

[3] Captain Flinders writes, that the point of McCluer's turning is placed in 11° 15′ south latitude, and says this is doubtless the Cape Van Diemen of the old Dutch voyagers. McCluer did not identify any particular part of Australia, nor did he land anywhere on the mainland, but he ascertained the positions of several small islands, shoals, and projecting points, and thus, Flinders says, " conferred a certain degree of authenticity upon the early discoveries of the Dutch."

species was supposed to mature only in the island of Banda, because the early Dutch rulers, not content with the exclusive possession of the spice trade, resolved in 1638 to confine the culture of the clove and nutmeg to the islands of Amboyna and Banda, and accordingly destroyed the plantations in all other places where they had flourished in the time of the Portuguese. One old historian remarks, "No lover was ever more jealous of his sweetheart than are the Dutch of their spice trade," and the clove and the Banda nutmeg headed the list of spices of which they virtually held a monopoly.

When Hayes learned from McCluer that this nutmeg and other equally valuable produce were easily obtainable in New Guinea, so that a cargo could be loaded without difficulty, it seemed as though the road to wealth had suddenly opened before him. Serving as he was in India, where men of commercial instincts were ever on the alert in search of a new venture, he determined to take three well-known merchants into his confidence, and to solicit their aid in order to carry out the voyage. The three merchants whom he selected, Messrs. Udney, Frushard, and Laprimaudaye, were no less sanguine as to the ultimate success of the project, and a small band of promoters was formed, consisting of Captain John Hayes, Captain Thomas Watkin Court,[1] a Mr. Robertson, and the three merchants named, each of whom agreed to

[1] Hayes and Court from this time are spoken of as Captains in the MSS.

become responsible for a share of the expense. Messrs. Udney, Frushard, and Laprimaudaye undertook the cost of purchasing and fitting out the ships that were to make the expedition; and Captain Hayes, Captain Court, and Mr. Robertson agreed to receive no pay during the voyage, but merely to have their table expenses allowed them by the other three. Two ships—the *Duke of Clarence*, of 250 tons, and mounting 14 guns, and the *Duchess*, an armed snow [1] of 100 tons—were chartered, and Captain Hayes was placed in charge of the larger ship with control of the general navigation of both vessels. Captain Court and Mr. William Risdon were appointed first and second officers respectively under Hayes, and Mr. Robertson sailed in his ship as supercargo, with power to conclude any commercial transactions that he might think proper, at the different places visited in their travels. The command of the *Duchess* was entrusted to Captain Relph,[2] another officer of the Bombay Marine.

The following list of officers and men who accompanied Captain Hayes was submitted to the East India Company by him :—

[1] "A snow," says an old shipping directory, "only differs from a brig in having the boom mainsail hooped to a trysail mast—a spar which is unknown in a brig, but which is carried in a snow close to the main mast." The word is derived from the Dutch "snauw."

[2] Relph was Hayes's senior in the Bombay Marine and was a friend of his. Probably he held only a small share in the venture, and for this reason became Hayes's subordinate during the expedition.

John Hayes . . .	Commander.
Thomas Watkin Court	1st officer, *Duke of Clarence.*
Wm. Relph	Placed in command of the *Duchess.*
Wm. Bellamy Risdon .	2nd officer, *Duke of Clarence.*
Robert Lander . . .	3rd officer, *Duke of Clarence.*
Frederick Croom . .	3rd officer.
John Robertson . .	Supercargo to the whole expedition.
——	Surgeon, *Duke of Clarence.*

European Seamen.

Christian Jenson.	Hen. Roel.
Joseph Davies.	Wm. Jelves.
John Wilson.	Thomas Page.
Peter Casey.	John Smith.
Matthew Hanson.	Wm. Clark,[1] Gunner, *Duke of Clarence.*
John Carcer.	
Jno. Lee.	John Johnson.
Oliver Coats.	John Redhead.
Thomas Anderson.	J. Robinson.
John Hughes.	

The vessels, like most of those engaged in the Indian trade, were not manned entirely by Europeans, the rest of the crews being Lascars and Sepoys.

It is evident that when Hayes left India he had no idea of carrying out any extensive exploration of the countries that he might visit, or he would have taken with him a botanist, or some one who possessed at least a smattering of botanical knowledge. No scientist sailed in his ships; but there was a surgeon in the *Duke of Clarence,* whose presence proved of the greatest importance to the crews, and the expedition, which was equipped in the most complete manner, was ready for sea in January, 1793. Its object was kept a

[1] Wm. Clark afterwards held the post of Harbour Master at Calcutta under Commodore Hayes.

profound secret in Calcutta, the Indian Press of that day merely referring to it as "a voyage about to be taken in search of secret commerce."

The directors of the East India Company probably knew the destination of the two ships and why officers of the Bombay Marine were sailing in them, but they gave no encouragement to the promoters of the expedition. Perhaps they thought that it was chiefly due to a spirit of adventure, or they may have looked askance at a scheme which seemed to them to come near to poaching on their own preserves. Their lack of interest, to whatever cause it may have been due, failed to damp the enthusiasm of the young captain, who set forth from Calcutta upon his travels with all the resolution of a seasoned navigator. The sea held no terrors for him, and if dangers existed in the unknown land whither he was bound, he was prepared to face them. He was not only confident that the voyage would be successful, but also seems to have been actuated by a patriotic determination to benefit his country if an occasion for so doing should present itself.

On February 6th, 1793, the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* sailed from Calcutta down the Bay of Bengal and passed Bencoolen without calling there. It was Hayes's intention to proceed to New Guinea without loss of time, and to anchor at the spot where McCluer had seen the nutmeg growing so plentifully. This fertile region had been reported as being situated "on the west side of New Guinea," but in case of any error regarding

the exact locality, Hayes was authorised to use his own discretion as to where the ships should obtain their cargo.

His plans were, in fact, destined to be completely altered, as he relates in one of his letters [1] describing his first operations.

"We left the pilot on February 9th, intending to sail directly for the west coast of New Guinea. The ships' courses were set to Timor, and here, on March 15th, between New Holland and that island I came off the parallel of the track I meant to pursue. I found it impracticable to continue my course, as the south-east trade had commenced, which I did not expect at so early a period. Persevering until the 19th, and experiencing a series of worse weather and more fixed winds only tended to convince me of the folly of longer trying to combat the elements in that direction, and I found by my lunar observations that we had been seven degrees to the westward of our reckoning in the last eight days. I therefore called a council of my officers, and we deliberated respecting the speediest mode of making New Guinea by some other route now the original one was no longer practicable. The result was a unanimous determination to round the South Cape of New Holland, and after wooding and watering at Adventure Bay, to proceed to the eastward until we met the south-east trade in the Pacific Ocean, with which we could easily range any part of New Guinea at pleasure."

[1] Dated June 23rd, 1794. To Sir John Shore, Governor General in Council at Calcutta.

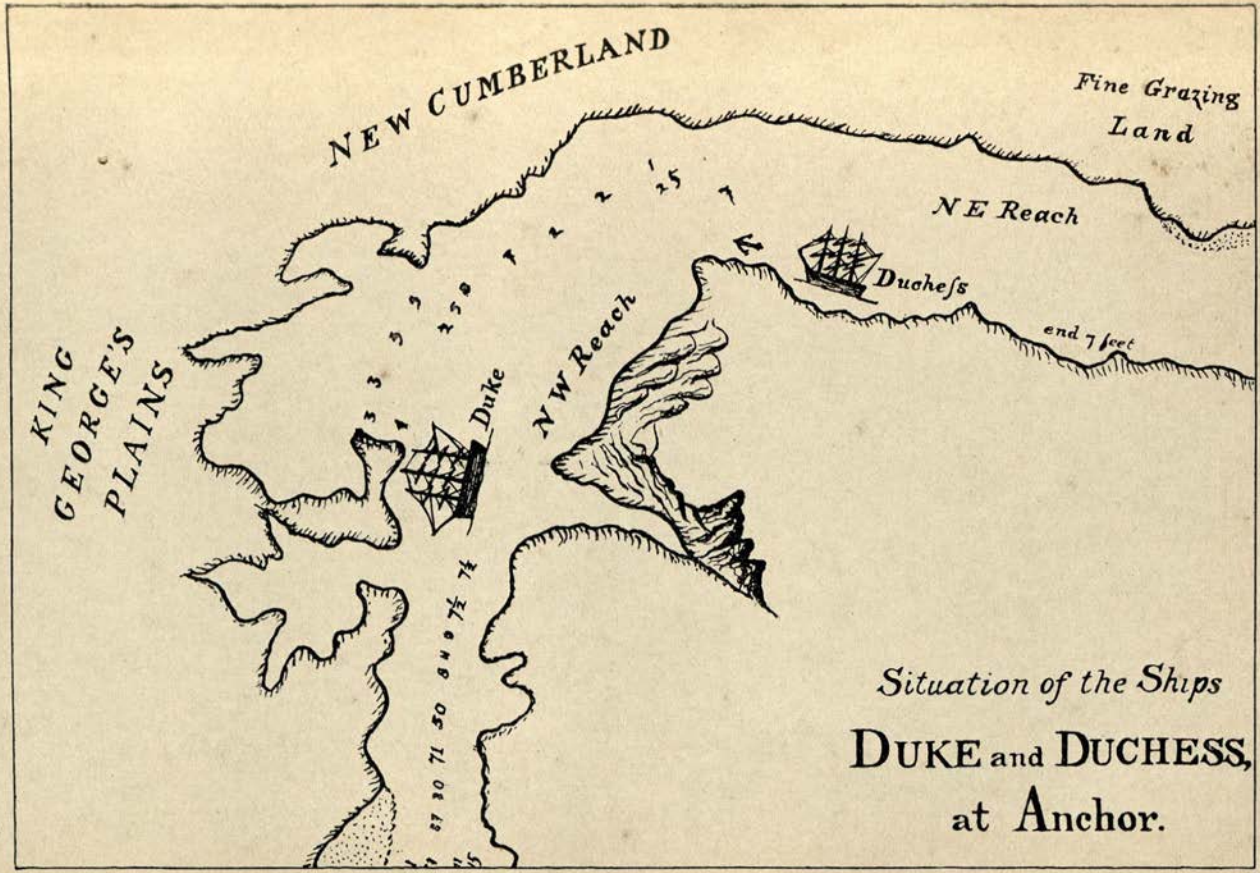
CHAPTER III

JOHN HAYES IN TASMANIA

Hayes reaches Tasmania—D'Entrecasteaux and his voyage—The exploration of Frederick Henry Bay—D'Entrecasteaux Strait—New discoveries and new nomenclature—The ships proceed westward—Exploration of the Derwent—1793.

FROM Timor, Hayes's ships sailed southward along the coast of Western Australia, and rounded the southern shores of Tasmania, then known as Van Diemen's Land, and believed to form part of the Australian continent.

On reaching Tasmania, on April 25th, Captain Hayes endeavoured to anchor first in Adventure Bay, but neither the *Duke of Clarence* nor the *Duchess* was able to beat into it; so he took them with some difficulty round Cape Frederick Henry, a point off the eastern shores of Bruni Island, and into the Storm Bay of Tasman. Afterwards, proceeding on his course, he entered a bay which he called Speak's Bay, in honour of Captain Samuel Speak, commander of the Honourable Company's brig *Fly*. To the point which formed the southern limit of this bay Hayes gave the name Green Point, and to an island a mile distant (the Isle Willaumez of the French) the homely title of Betsey Island, after the ship *Betsey*, commanded by Captain Megson, a naval officer and one of his friends.



HAYES'S SHIPS AT ANCHOR IN THE DERWENT RIVER, TASMANIA.

Enlarged from Dalrymple's Chart.

When Hayes landed he was quite unaware that only two months previously Admiral D'Entrecasteaux had sailed from Adventure Bay, this being the second time the French ships—the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*—had visited Tasmania. D'Entrecasteaux had first arrived there in April of the previous year, and, entering Storm Bay, had discovered a channel which he named after himself. Besides thoroughly exploring it his boats had entered two rivers, naming them Huon and Rivière du Nord. The French, in fact, before the arrival of Hayes, had made many surveys of the Tasmanian coast, and had given French names to almost every part of its southern shores. On the occasion of his first visit D'Entrecasteaux stayed a month, and then sailed to New Caledonia, but he returned a second time to Tasmania in 1793. Hayes does not seem to have suspected the recent presence of the French, nor does he appear to have known that parties from two English ships—the *Providence* and the *Assistant*, under Captain William Bligh—had surveyed Bruni Island a few months before D'Entrecasteaux reached Tasmania.

From the absence of any published narrative of the second voyage of Bligh, little has been known generally as to the precise amount of work achieved. But the manuscript records in existence show that, while Hayes was mistaken in regarding himself as the first discoverer of this part of the Tasmanian coast, it is equally a mistake to suppose, as is so often done, that D'Entrecasteaux found the

interior waters examined by him virgin ground when he began his work in the same region. The manuscript charts of Captain Bligh and of Lieutenant Bond, of H.M.S. *Providence* (First Lieutenant with Bligh's expedition), are the first maps to show Table Hill (now Mount Wellington), or any part of the strait, the outlet and entrance of which were yet to be discovered by D'Entrecasteaux. Bond called one of the harbours within it Frederick Henry Bay (of Tasman), which, of course, it was not, and he writes in his log: "The entrance of Frederick Henry Bay is not positively known, but is supposed to be where represented in the chart," He also states that he obtained the information which his chart contains "partly from ocular knowledge and likewise from those who pursued different routes from myself." The fact that Bond erroneously called this bay Frederick Henry Bay does not detract from the discovery which he has recorded, for the seamen who first visited these waters after Tasman were quite uncertain as to the situation of Frederick Henry Bay.[1] Marion and Furneaux gave the title to other bays, both failing to identify it, and as a result the name of the Dutch prince of the seventeenth century, introduced into Tasmania by Tasman, has drifted, like flotsam and jetsam, to rest finally on a bend of the coast which it was physically impossible for Tasman to have seen.

While his crews were seeking wood and water,

[1] Tasman's Frederick Henry Bay is now called Blackman's Bay.

HAYES'S DISCOVERIES IN TASMANIA.

Chart inscribed to Sir John Shore by his faithful servant, John Hayes, from the original in the Admiralty Library.

Hayes began his examination of the coast. His attention was first directed to the shores lying southward of his anchorage, and in due course he found that Adventure Bay was not an indentation of the mainland, but of an island which he named William Pitt's Isle in honour of the Prime Minister, but which D'Entrecasteaux had called Bruni Island. Hayes gave English names to all the places lately christened by the French, selecting them principally in honour of the officials of the East India Company and of his brother officers.

His ships sailed into D'Entrecasteaux Strait through its northern entrance, passing in by the opening from which the French Admiral had twice made his exit. The English Captain's chart shows that he carefully examined the channel, naming the land to the westward, which was mainland coast, New Cumberland, and exploring it from end to end. A capacious harbour near the entrance of the strait, the Port du Nord Ouest of D'Entrecasteaux,[1] he called William Fairlie's Harbour, in honour of the Calcutta merchant of that name, the small stream falling into it the Anna Maria River, and a point on its southern side, Expectation Point. Crossing to the opposite side of the strait Hayes entered Port McCluer, which he so named after his friend the commander of the *Panther*, to whose suggestion his expedition was due. Three small streams falling into coves on the western shores received respectively the names of Amelia's River, Anna's River, and Rose's

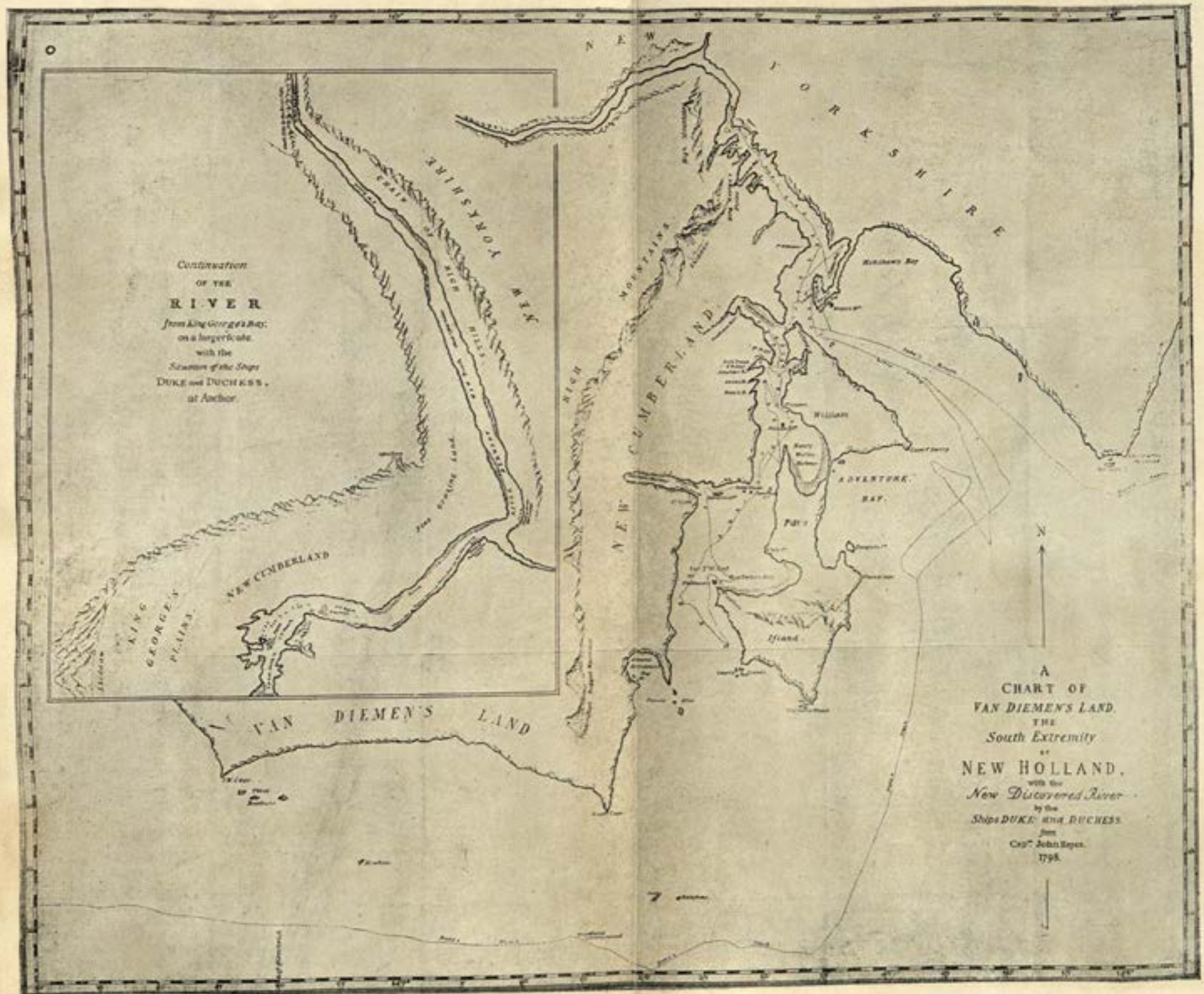
[1] The voyage of D'Entrecasteaux is described in later chapters.

River. Flinders says that Hayes was apt to call streams rivers, and this probably applies to Anna Maria River and its neighbours.

As far as the writer has been able to ascertain, the explorations that Hayes carried out in Tasmania have been preserved in three charts. (1) A manuscript chart, now in the Admiralty Library, dedicated to Sir John Shore by John Hayes; (2) the chart drawn by Hayes, published by Alexander Dalrymple in 1798, and to a copy of which Flinders and Bass added their own discoveries; (3) an engraved map in the Universal Atlas by Major Rennell and Thomas Kitchin, senior,[1] showing Hayes's discoveries inset with those of Cook and Vancouver in Australia, of which Tasmania was then supposed to form the southernmost shores.

Hayes brought his ships into the cove into which Amelia's River emptied itself and called it Pruen Cove. Dalrymple's chart throws most light on his stay here, for although two charts show where he anchored, that of Dalrymple alone gives the important words "F. Water" beneath the place-name. There is interesting confirmation of Hayes's account at this point, for we know that when Flinders and Bass—Tasmania's first circumnavigators—came there five years afterwards, they saw signs of a ship's visit at Pruen Cove, and Flinders thus writes of it: "Some rills of excellent water come winding through a rich valley at the

[1] The date of Hayes's discoveries is given incorrectly in this map, possibly owing to a printer's error.



THE CHART DRAWN BY HAYES, PUBLISHED IN 1798, TO A COPY OF WHICH FLINDERS AND BASS ADDED THEIR DISCOVERIES.

To face p. 24.

back of Pruen Cove, and uniting fall into the head of the Cove. . . . It is probable that Mr. Hayes, or perhaps Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, watered here,[1] for there was a tree lying near the run, which had been cut both by a saw and an axe, and they would not have pitched upon this as a wooding place only, when there were twenty others about the cove more convenient for the purpose." The chart thus furnishes the explanation of what Flinders surmised. The fact that he identified the spot where Hayes had watered his ships possesses additional interest, because Flinders on this voyage took with him the chart that Hayes had made and added a record of his own discoveries to the places visited and named by Hayes. Flinders and Bass made some alterations in the terms on Hayes's chart, coves having been called bays in it, and creeks rivers, but an old Tasmanian historian tells us that though they corrected his definitions they left him the honour of discovery.[2]

The fact, however, that Flinders, in his "Observations on Van Diemen's Land," gives the name of Hayes's ship merely as the *Duke*, and not the *Duke of Clarence*, shows that beyond having a copy of Hayes's chart in his possession, he knew little or nothing of his voyage.

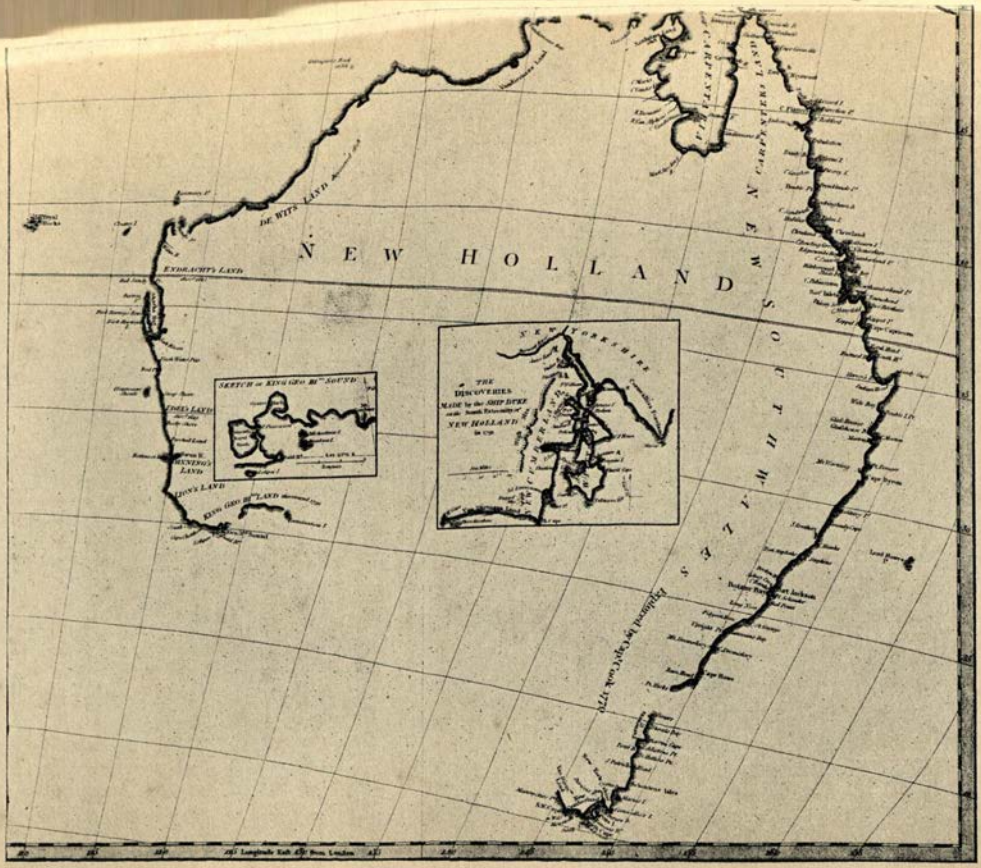
The name of *Duchess* does not appear at all on the chart dedicated to Sir John Shore, although it has been added to Dalrymple's chart, the place

[1] As a matter of fact, D'Entrecasteaux never watered at this spot.

[2] West's "History of Tasmania."

where she lay at anchor being also shown. For this reason it seems likely that the chart which Flinders possessed was not an exact copy of the charts now extant, but of an earlier one made by Hayes. Gull Islet is at least one name mentioned by Flinders [1] which is not on those in existence, and there is much also to be explained regarding the inscription, Admiral D'Antrecasteaux Bay, which was probably added to the Admiralty chart after Hayes's return to India. In Dalrymple's it is written, Admiral Antecastaux Bay; it may have had quite a different name on the chart Flinders possessed, for Hayes's letters show that when he was in Tasmania he knew nothing of the French discoveries, but considered his own work to have been of that character. He writes to Lord Cornwallis: "I have discovered a strait abounding with many fine harbours. . . . The large island (named in the charts Wm. Pitt's Isle) that forms the strait (named in the charts Seton Strait) I discovered has on its east side the bay called by Captain Furneaux, Adventure Bay and was visited by Captains Cook and Clerke. Although these three navigators were expressly sent on discovery they left Adventure Bay without knowing that it was situated on an island. Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux assert that there is no strait through Van Diemen's Land, but that it is a part of New Holland; but I am convinced that there are several."

[1] "Historical Records of New South Wales." Flinders possibly possessed a rough drawing of the chart published by Dalrymple, to which many details were afterwards added.


NEW HOLLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
DE WITT LAND
ENDRACHT'S LAND
EDELS LAND
NUYTS'S LAND
EDELS LAND
SKETCH of KING GEO. IIIds SOUND
THE DISCOVERIES MADE by the SHIP DUKE of the South Division of NEW HOLLAND in 1791
NEW YORKSHIRE
Explored by CAPT. COOK 1770

MAP SHOWING HAYES'S DISCOVERIES IN TASMANIA INSET WITH THOSE OF COOK AND VANCOUVER IN AUSTRALIA.

[From Rennell and Kitchin's Atlas.

Hayes was much impressed by the sight of the great trees, of the myrtle family, that covered the inland country from the shores of the ocean to the summits of the highest mountains in the interior. They were called by Dr. White, of H.M.S. *Sirius*, *Eucalyptus resinifera*, and were a species of the mighty eucalyptus commonly known as the Tasmanian blue gum tree.[1]

The first description of D'Entrecasteaux's Strait is given in an Indian newspaper,[2] which announces the news of Hayes's discoveries, and describes the strait as being "about three leagues wide and free from shoals and sufficiently navigable for ships of any size, the land on either side being covered with an abundance of large trees, one in particular resembling the English oak." This paper further states that the strait was named Pruen Strait as a compliment to Captain Pruen[3] of the Honourable Company's Marine. On Hayes's chart it is called Seton's Strait, in honour of Mr. Daniel Seton, a senior merchant of the Company. It is possible that on first seeing it Hayes thought of calling it Pruen Strait, but afterwards changed his mind, and gave the

[1] There is a possibility that a table now in an ante-room at Woolwich is of this wood. It once belonged to Captain Hayes and was part of the trunk of a large tree that he towed from an island in the Pacific during one of his voyages. A slice of it was cut and polished and has made an extremely handsome table. Its support is said to have been part of a ship's mast. The table is now an heirloom and is in the possession of Colonel A. Crawford, Royal Artillery.

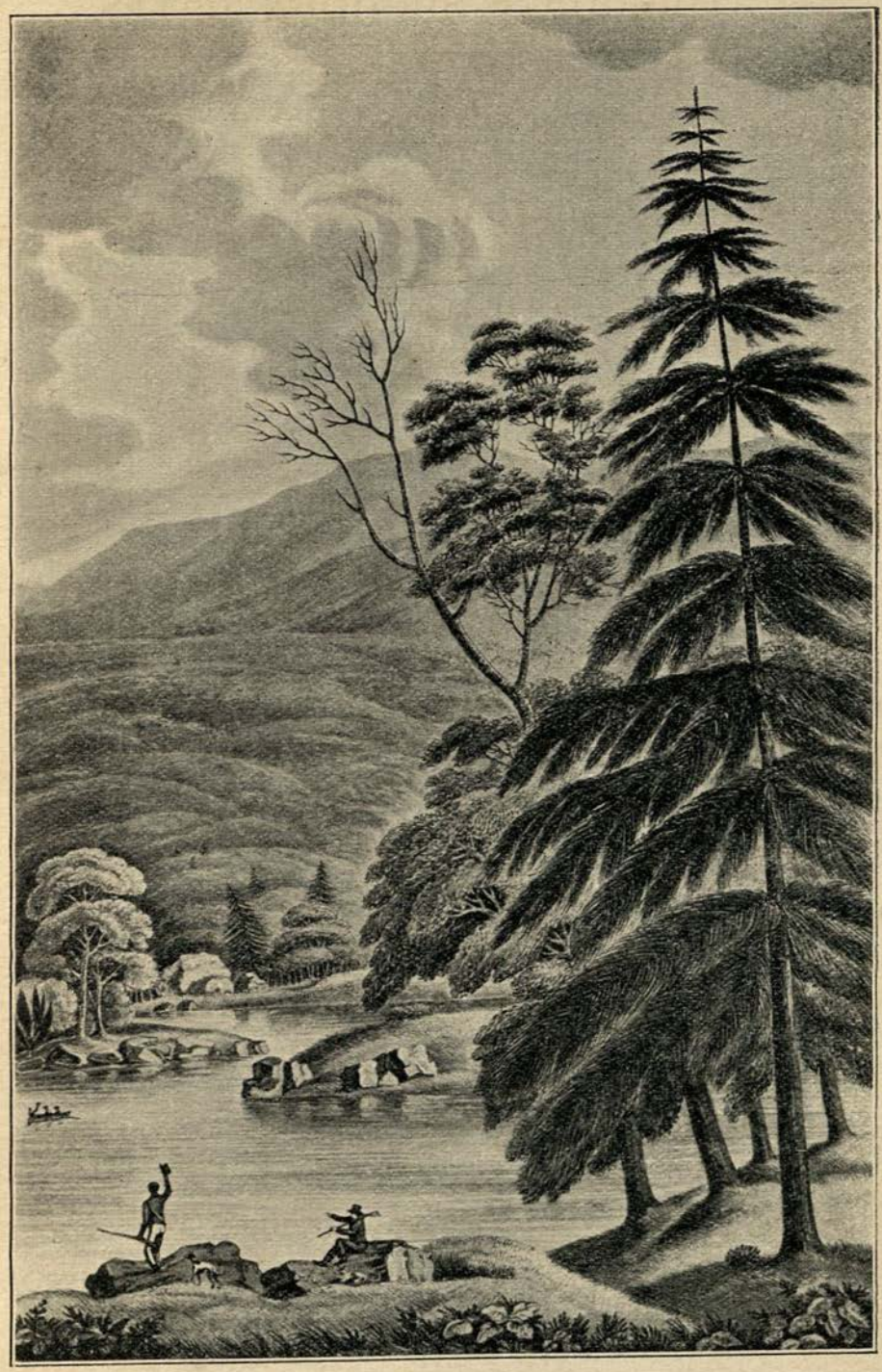
[2] *Madras Courier*, January 21st, 1795.

[3] Captain Ashmead Pruen.

name of Port Pruen to the cove on its western shores.

An examination of the charts will show that the Isthmus Bay of D'Entrecasteaux, whose waters so deeply indent the shores of Bruni Island on the east side of the strait, was re-named Henry Hall's Harbour by Captain Hayes, or rather it so appears on his MS. chart. On Dalrymple's it bears the name of Henry Wallis's Harbour, but the alteration is very likely due to a mistake on the part of the engraver. Southward of this bay the Little Cove (La Petite Anse) of the French maps is entirely omitted, probably escaping Hayes's notice. He gave Great Cove (La Grande Anse) the name of Ray Taylor's Bay in honour of Captain Taylor of the Bombay Marine, and through a curious adoption of the English and French names they are now called by Tasmanians Great Taylor's Bay and Little Taylor's Bay. L'Ile aux Perdrix was changed by Hayes to Thistleton's Island in remembrance of his old chief the captain of the *Drake*, and the islands which lie in a small cluster off the south-west coast of Bruni Island at the entrance of the strait were called Court's Islands in honour of Captain Thomas Court, first officer of the *Duke of Clarence*.

Many instances of Hayes's nomenclature occur on the mainland. The high mountain north-west of South Cape takes the name of Pindar's Peak, and two projections on the west side of the strait are called Point Abbott and Point Scott, while Espérance Bay, discovered by the boat sent out



HUON RIVER, TASMANIA.

The pine-trees are now called "Huon" pines.

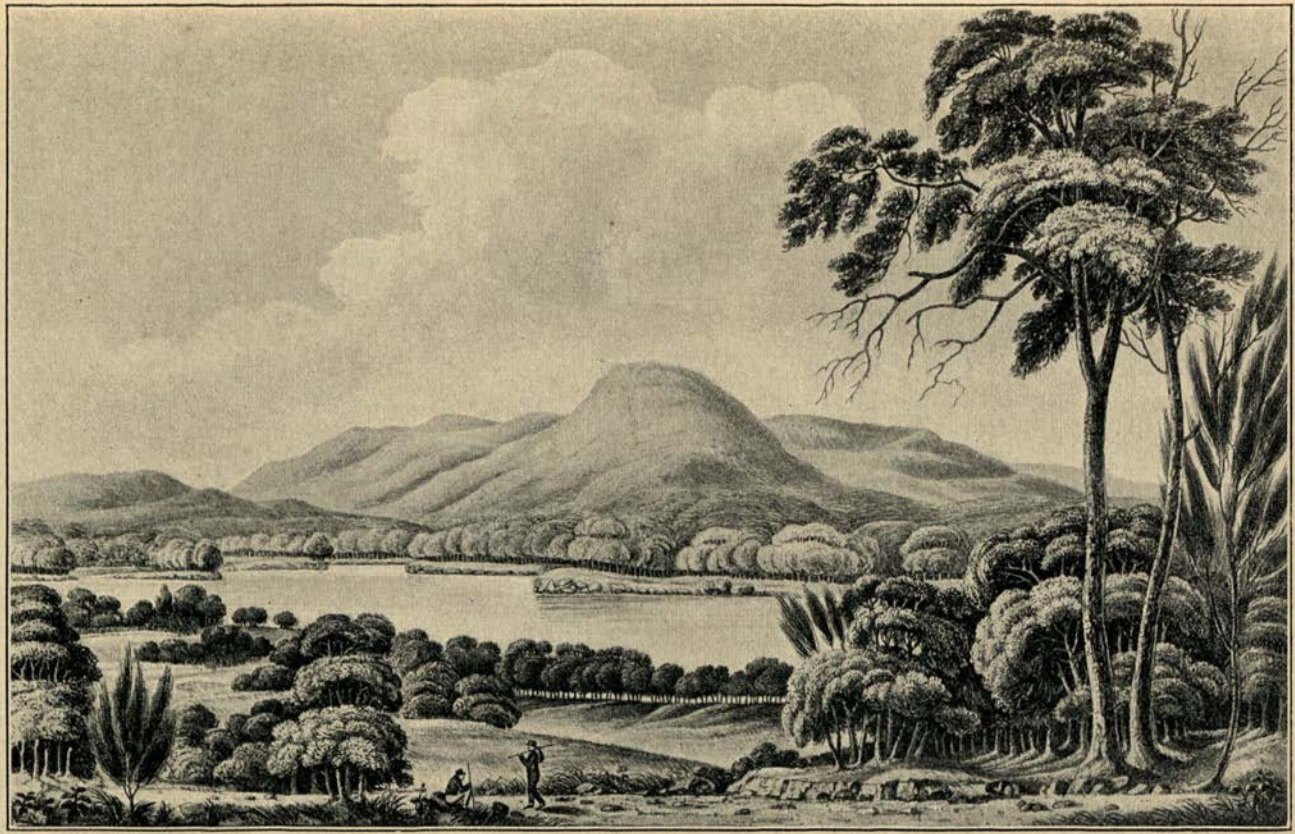
from the *Espérance,* and named in honour of the French ship, is designated A. Adamson's Harbour. The small indentation on its northern shore Hayes named A. H. Bogle's Bay in memory of Doctor Alexander Bogle, a former messmate, who served in the *Drake.* A small rock in the form of an arch was called Bridge Rock, and some barren rocks at the mouth of Recherche Bay, the Iles Steriles of the French, were named Fawcett's Isles. What is most extraordinary with regard to the western shores of the strait is the complete omission from the charts of the great opening which forms the mouth of the River Huon. One can only suppose that when sailing down the strait and returning up it again Hayes missed seeing any part of the opening.

While surveying the different harbours, a work which possessed great fascination for Captain Hayes, a mutiny, which fortunately came to nothing, was being fomented among his ships' crew. On many occasions during the voyage from India Mr. Robertson had shown a great deal of bad feeling towards him, failing to treat him with the respect to which his position as the leader of the expedition entitled him. That no actual quarrel had taken place was mainly owing to the self-control exercised by Captain Hayes. When, however, Mr. Robertson found himself alone on shore with the wooding and watering parties, he availed himself of the opportunity to give vent to his feelings and to denounce his commander. At the same time, in order to

impress the seamen with a sense of his own importance, he went so far as to tell them that he owned the ships, and that unless they obeyed him and not Captain Hayes, if they happened to differ, the payment of their wages would be stopped. At first Hayes did not fully realise the danger of his position. He says: "I overlooked some daring acts of mutiny committed by the supercargo, but when I found that some of the men believed him and that it was openly murmured among the crew that Robertson was the owner, and could when he pleased turn me out of command of the ships, so warping the minds of the ignorant men from their duty, that for the safety of the vessels and of those attacked on account of their service to me I was compelled to confine him." Apparently as a punishment for his conduct and to prevent its repetition, Robertson was put in irons.

In finishing his examination of Seton's Strait Hayes found that it really was a channel connected with the open sea, and he navigated his ships back again to the northward. During the return journey he visited Port Pruen and William Fairlie's Harbour for the second time. He then carried out his most important explorations and those upon which his claims to be considered a Tasmanian discoverer rest.

In the neighbourhood of D'Entrecasteaux's Strait the French had left nothing unexplored or undone. Their boats had been everywhere and their officers had seen everything that was to be seen. Willaumez had also penetrated an opening



J. Lycett.] MOUNT DIRECTION (NAMED BY HAYES).

From this point Hayes discovered the more inland parts of Tasmania.

at the head of Storm Bay, and upon examining it had discovered the mouth of a river which was named Rivière du Nord. Hayes's ships entered this river, and, having explored a bay which he named Relph's Bay, in honour of Captain Relph, the commander of the *Duchess*,[1] proceeded up the river, taking frequent soundings and obtaining much knowledge of its banks. Their beauty and grandeur delighted him. The mountain slopes were bright with verdure, while at their base fertile valleys ran down right to the edge of the banks of the river. Hayes thought at first that he had discovered a gulf, naming it Fletcher Hayes Gulf in remembrance of his brother. A prominent point was christened Point William, probably after another relative, and a projection near which the ship came into shallow water was called Shoal Point.

The *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* continued a north-westerly route, and eventually reached an anchorage after passing a very high mountain with precipitous sides. The explorers here found themselves abreast of a beautiful cove, which is called on Hayes's chart Risdon Creek and River. Collins gives a description of Risdon, which in view of the historical importance of the spot in after years is worth quoting. He says : " The land at the head of Risdon Creek on the east side seems preferable to any other on the banks of the Derwent. The creek runs winding between two steep hills and

[1] The Double Bay of D'Entrecasteaux, it is now called Ralph's Bay.

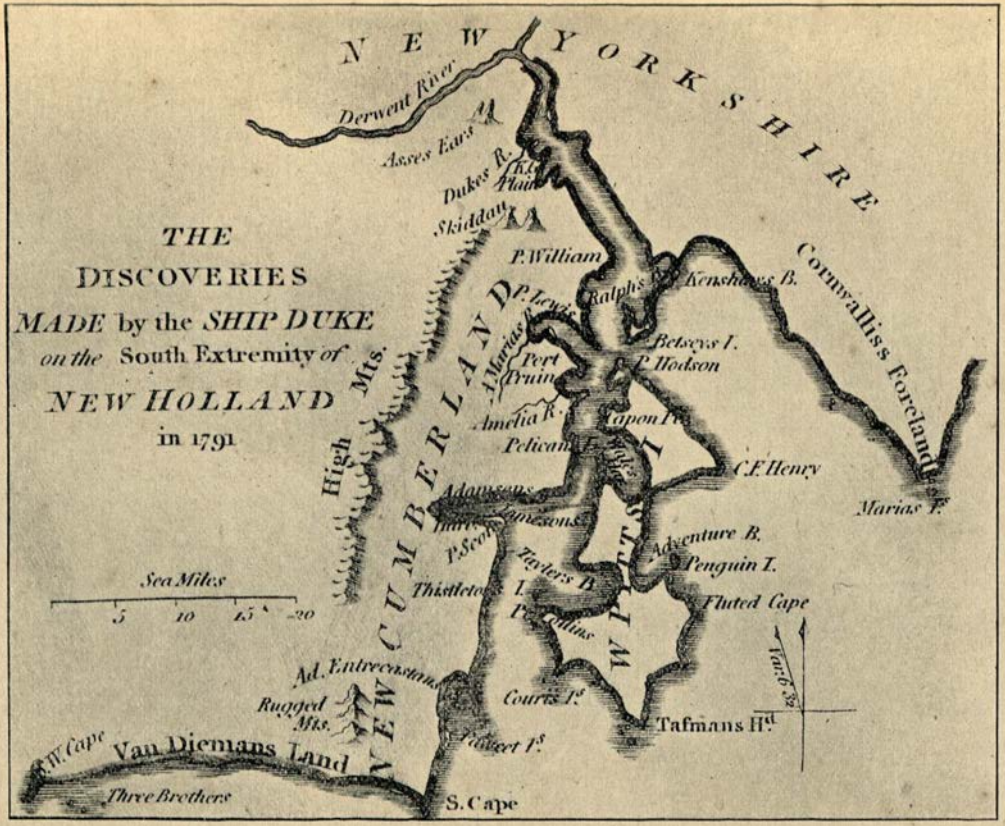
ends in a chain of ponds that extends into a fertile valley of great beauty." Many in Australia and Tasmania have wondered why Risdon was so called. It has often been stated in print that the name originated in Restdown as being the place where the first British settlers under Lieutenant Bowen, R.N., rested after their stormy voyage from New South Wales in 1803, a legend which has come to be regarded as the truth. Risdon, however, was the surname of the second officer of the *Duke of Clarence*.

To the north of Risdon, on the Derwent's eastern bank, another mountain, named Mount Direction, was observed, and looking southwards from its summit, the bay could be seen which Furneaux had called Frederick Henry Bay,[1] as well as various points of the river extending as far as Betsey Island.

From his anchorage above Risdon the Commander continued his explorations of the upper reaches of the river, when he must have become aware of his mistake in calling it a gulf. Although he kept the name Fletcher Hayes Gulf upon his chart, he bestowed upon the part he now surveyed the name of the River Derwent (the name the whole river now bears) or Derwentwater.[2] He appears to have taken great pleasure in this part of his task, but he afterwards learnt to his disappointment that he was not the first to discover

[1] The name Frederick Henry has been retained for this bay. It is neither the Frederick Henry Bay of Tasman nor of Bond.

[2] The town of Hobart stands on its banks.



HAYES'S DISCOVERIES IN TASMANIA.

The date on this map is inaccurate, possibly owing to a printer's error.

[*From the Universal Atlas, by Major Rennell and Thomas Kitchin, Sen.*

the portion near the river's mouth. He writes to a friend: "I have found a gulf which I explored on the west side. Near the head are some plains extending to the foot of a large mountain, these I have called King George's Plains.[1] On them I found a variety of beautiful stones not inferior to any cornelians." A cove where these stones were particularly plentiful was named Cornelian Basin.

Captain Hayes spent much time on these western shores seeing many curious birds and animals in the forests and myriads of wild fowl thronging the creeks and backwaters. The most noticeable parrot was one whose green plumage was studded with black spots, a bird which Latham has described as the parrot of New Caledonia. Of another species which was not new to him, Hayes writes: "I also saw here the white cockatoo of the Moluccas, said by naturalists to abound only within the tropics. This was in latitude 42° 47′ 30″ S. and longitude 147° 30′ 54″ E. of Greenwich."

The very large mountain to the south of King George's Plains received the north country name of Skiddaw, and a hill on the plain close to the anchorage was called Myrtle Hill. "Skiddaw" was the mountain with a flat top and abrupt sides inclined to the south-west, which Francis Péron, the French naturalist, afterwards described as resembling a rampart of basalt. The *Duke of*

[1] Of these explorations Collins remarks: "Mr. Hayes called 300 acres, King George's plains! Could this have been in derision?" From the extent of land shown on the chart under this title Hayes evidently thought the plains of greater extent than in fact they were.

Clarence was brought to opposite Mount Direction. The *Duchess* in spite of frequent mud banks and shoal water was able to venture some distance beyond the spot where the *Duke* had anchored.[1]

With a few exceptions, Hayes still continued to bestow the names of his brother officers and of his friends upon the different points of land and upon the coves and streams of Tasmania. The wide tract of country that stretched from the eastern banks of the Derwent away to the unknown north was called New Yorkshire. Its scenery above Risdon was particularly beautiful. On this side, in addition to Mount Direction Hayes named a mountain and two small points Lion Couchant, Stony Point and Deep Point. On the opposite banks of the Derwent a cove north of Cornelian Basin was called Stainforth's Bay, in honour of Captain Stainforth of the Bombay Marine, and Croom's River still further south took the name of another member of the expedition, both these names surviving to the present day.

From Mount Direction Point Hayes may be termed a discoverer, for it was here the boat of D'Entrecasteaux had turned back, and no white man had ever attempted to penetrate beyond it. Hayes proceeded by boat from the mountain, as there was not sufficient depth of water to afford a passage for his ship. He found in some places as much as nine feet, but the stream

[1] " Hayes marks one fathom here but seems to have anchored above Mount Direction Point in his ship." See Flinders, " Observations in Van Diemen's Land."

J. Lycett.] EXPLORATION OF THE DERWENT (MOUNT DROMEDARY).

more often shoaled to three. Above Mount Direction the river bed ran deep into the land, and on the west a chain of mountains could be seen at a little distance from the left bank, two peaks of which were named by Hayes "Asses' Ears," on account of their shape. Here again lay a beautiful grass country sloping from the base of the mountains to the edge of the Derwent. A still higher chain of hills of much greater uniformity ran along the right bank of the river; but Hayes, preferring to confine his explorations to the southern or western banks, did not survey these, turning back from a point where some small hills rose abruptly from the river side.

After returning to his anchorage Hayes charted Henshaw's Bay (Frederick Henry Bay) and Betsey Island, the former being the Providence Sound of Bligh. He bestowed upon it the name Henshaw, in honour of a commander of that name in the East India Company's service,[1] and Cape Pillar he called Cape Hanson, after Matthew Hanson, one of his seamen.

[1] Betsey Island was visited five years later by Captain Flinders who wrote of it: "It is a mile off the beach of what Mr. Hayes calls Speak's Bay . . . it is so high and steep that I was unable to land after coasting half-way round it and it was necessary to make good use of my hands in ascending the mountain . . . it is thickly clothed with trees and luxuriant grass upon which no animal appears to feed, but the prospect from it is extensive and grand. The natives visit it but I found no recent marks of their fires."

CHAPTER IV

NEW CALEDONIA

Hayes leaves Tasmania—He reaches New Caledonia—He passes the coral reef, and finds an anchorage—His visit compared with that of D'Entrecasteaux—1793.

HAYES left Tasmania on June 9th, "in the morning when the thermometer was as low as 29°." He called the last point of land seen by him Cornwallis Foreland in honour of Lord Cornwallis. From their anchorage in the Derwent the ships sailed across what is now known as the Tasman Sea, or South Pacific, one of the deepest seas in the world. Desolate of islands and swept by Polar gales, long rolling waves with a heavy swell traverse it in all weathers, and when New Caledonia is sighted its coasts, guarded by reefs and bars backed by high mountains, look wild and inhospitable. Inside the reefs there are anchorages of great depth, where the water is smooth and clear. The inland country presents a dreary waste, the soil is arid, burnt, and sparsely covered with a coarse stunted grass.

Here and there cocoanut palms and tall mast-like pine trees (*Araucaria Cookii*) fringe the shore, which occasionally takes the form of grassy slopes, but more often the waves break against formidable cliffs.

On nearing New Caledonia, on June 27th, Hayes, as he had anticipated, fell in with the south-east trade wind, and coasted along the Great Barrier Reef, as D'Entrecasteaux had done in 1792. This reef at its southern extremity encloses the Isle of Pines, which is nothing more than a raised bank of coral about eight miles broad and covered with pine trees. Thence the reef stretches in a north-westerly direction on either side of New Caledonia, and with the exception of a few short breaks completely encircles it. The mountains consist of a double range, separated for the most part by a series of valleys but united here and there by spurs. From the sea these mountains look intensely blue, their outline being seen from a considerable distance.

Of his coming, Captain Hayes writes: "I arrived at New Caledonia on June 28th, and ranged the whole of the south-west coast and explored it, I hope, to the satisfaction of all mankind"; and then buoyed up with his hopes of success as a discoverer, he adds: "It was before entirely unknown. The north-east side of this island was explored by Captain James Cook, but in most places at too great a distance between to give any idea of the dangers along the shore. I only found two anchoring places on the south-western side and those were very indifferent ones; the last being near the west end." This letter shows us that Hayes was the first European to take his ships through the barrier reef on the western side of New Caledonia, or to anchor in its harbours,

and for that reason the loss of his journal is the more to be regretted.

When he skirted the western side of New Caledonia, D'Entrecasteaux did not venture through any of the openings in the coral reef, but was content after approaching one of them to give the name of Le Havre Trompeur to the waters within. It is possible that this may have been the first anchorage into which Hayes took his ships, but it is hardly likely. Le Havre Trompeur is the fine harbour which ten years afterwards received the name of Port St. Vincent, in honour of Earl St. Vincent, from Captain Kent, of H.M.S. *Buffalo*, who brought his vessel to anchor there in 1803 when on a voyage from New South Wales to New Caledonia. In the Master's log of the *Buffalo* the port is laid down as in latitude 22° 01′ 15″ south, and longitude 167° 00′ 29″ east.

Nor is it certain that Hayes discovered Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia, where there is a safe and roomy port sheltered behind a peninsula and an island lying a short distance from the mainland. It answers even less than Port St. Vincent to Hayes's description of "an indifferent harbour." The first anchorage of the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* may have been Bulari Bay, or Port Laguerre, for although they are safe anchorages, they cannot compare with the excellent harbours of Noumea and Port St. Vincent.

The last place visited by Captain Hayes was, however, as he relates, "near the west end," and he adds: "The road where we lay I called

Directors' Roads in honour of the Honourable Company, it lies in latitude 20° 43′ 20″ south and longitude 163° 141′ 20″ east of Greenwich." If Hayes's latitude is correct, the bay which his ships entered on this occasion was Gomen Bay, which lies inside the Great Mathieu Reef, for the latitude of Gomen Bay corresponds to that given by Captain Hayes, although its longitude does not. But in those early times few navigators were able to ascertain very accurately the longitude of the places they visited, because they were entirely dependent upon their chronometers, which were liable to get out of order.

During their stay in Directors' Roads the English saw the natives of New Caledonia, of whom Hayes writes thus: "We twice had coerced intercourse with the savages of that extensive island who are an athletic race and exhibited undoubted signs of cannibalism. . . . I brought three canoes alongside with four men in each. They were fishing on the reefs, and were so awestruck at the sight of the two ships and the white men, that they could not move and were brought in tow by our boat in a state of stupor. I got several on board and made them presents, but they did not like their situation at all, making signs that they ate those they took and were afraid we were going to eat them. Our salt meat they ate but made signs that it was made out of our enemies." Hayes also adds that "the disease elephantiasis affected some of the stoutest parties we met with."

Captain Hayes does not give any details of his ships' passage through the opening in the Barrier reef. He had, however, a very unpleasant experience, after they were brought to, in the occurrence of a volcanic disturbance. He tells how, during the last night of his stay in the harbour, "just opposite to where the ships lay at anchor, a large mountain, twenty miles distant from the beach, took fire and burned furiously, agitating the sea in a most extraordinary manner and causing the waves to recede to a great distance from the shore. The ships then riding upon a bank of sand and small coral seven miles from the land were forced forwards and backwards as the waters alternately receded from and returned to the shore consequent upon the shocks occasioned by each successive eruption. Masses of stone and pumice fell between us and the shore."

Hayes, who had not intended to remain long in the country, resolved after this volcanic disturbance to take leave of it as quickly as possible; for he says: "On the following morning innumerable black rocks appeared above the water, which had not been seen before, and this determined me to leave the inhospitable island." The numerous large boulders that now lie at the north end of the Great Mathieu Reef, to the south of the opening, may well be those whose first appearance on the scene was witnessed by Hayes.

Of New Caledonia he writes: "It is one of the most dreary and barren places in the known world as is the shore the most dangerous, a coral

reef facing its whole extent, in some places being six leagues from the mainland, over which the sea breaks continuously and furiously."

During their stay the Englishmen seem to have devoted themselves to the exploration of its reefs rather than to surveying the island, although up to this time their Commander had gained more knowledge of the west coast than any other navigator. His account does not accurately describe the interior of New Caledonia, for it is not altogether barren and dreary. Vast mountains and wide plains, great trees, rushing torrents, and rare and delicate flowers are all to be found there. Plantations of cocoanut trees overspread fertile valleys, and strange birds throng the forests, having since received old-world names although they represent varieties that are only to be met with in southern countries.

The space between the Barrier Reef and the shore at the southern end of the island, as Hayes states, is in some places eighteen miles wide. But at the northern extremity the reef becomes more and more broken and finally takes the form of a large atoll round which a few islets are dotted. There are scattered groups still farther northward, and at Port St. Vincent Captain Kent found islands [1] of considerable size inside the coral reef, situated from four to eight miles from the shore, these really forming its

[1] Captain Kent named three of these islands, King, Paterson, and Robbins Islands, in honour of the Governor of New South Wales, Colonel Paterson, and Mr. Robbins respectively.

harbour. "The reef towards the sea," he writes, "was as steep as the wall of a house; within the port it was level with the water's edge." Curiously enough one of Kent's sailors found a "French jack" upon an islet close to the reef, but it would be difficult to conjecture who planted it there, as ten years had then elapsed since D'Entrecasteaux had passed by. We are not told whether it was the white flag of the Monarchy or the tricolour of the new Republic. Most probably it was left by somebody on board one of the French whalers which are known to have been in those waters about the same time as Kent.

He believed that Port St. Vincent had formerly been a chosen battle-field of the natives, as there were many skulls and skeletons both on the islands and in the caves along the shore. For this reason he gave to a little island where the *Buffalo* anchored on the evening of her arrival the name of Skull Island. On its south-eastern side, under a rude arch of stone, there were discovered lying "at equal distances apart, in four squares, about a foot asunder, four heads and the face of each was turned to the north-north-west," in the direction of Mecca.

CHAPTER V

THE LOUISIADE ARCHIPELAGO

Hayes leaves New Caledonia and enters the Louisiade Archipelago —Rossel Island and its inhabitants—The Louisiade Islands and their characteristics—Misima Island—The conduct and death of Mr. Robertson, supercargo—The voyage continues and the ships reach New Guinea—New Ireland and the Duke of York group—The observations of Carteret and Hunter—1793.

On July 3rd, a few days before the ships of D'Entrecasteaux left New Britain, Captain Hayes sailed from New Caledonia, steering a course towards New Guinea until he made the southern shores of the Louisiade Archipelago. Having reached this point he turned westward, and followed to some extent the track taken by Bougainville in 1768.

In one of his letters Hayes writes:[1] "We tried to pass through the Louisiade's intricate and dangerous group, or between it and the mainland (of New Guinea), but we found it impracticable to do so, and we accordingly ranged along the south face of New Guinea which is low and presents three small woody islands near its south-east extreme. It was our intention to have passed along the

[1] *India Gazette*, October 16th, 1826.

south-west coast of New Guinea round Cape Valsche, or the Cape Walsh of Cook, but we could not proceed in this direction.

"The Louisiade forms no part of the mainland of New Guinea: this was ascertained by the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* under my command in 1793. The 'Cul de Sac de l'Orangerie' of Bougainville from which he extricated himself with great difficulty and the Cap de la Délivrance . . . range along and project beyond the south-east extremity of New Guinea; the former comprises a very extensive combination of low sandy keys and islets trending to the north-west dangerous to approach."

It would be difficult to conjecture how far Hayes navigated his ships among the islands and reefs that border the southern shores of New Guinea before further progress was barred to him. But the fact of his mentioning the Cul de Sac de l'Orangerie might imply that he penetrated quite as far westward as Bougainville, if not further, before he turned back again.

In describing the exploration of the Archipelago in more recent times, Captain Moresby, R.N., writes: "The principal cause which appears to have prevented navigators from nearing these unknown shores has been the enormous coral barrier of the Louisiade Reef which extends from Teste Island to the east for 200 miles and is beaten on by an everlasting surf blown on by the S.E. monsoon for eight months of the year and set on by strong currents which make approach

dangerous. These dangers and the supposed ferocity of the natives caused the mariner to give the locality a wide berth and prevented all attempts to explore the eastern end of New Guinea. Bougainville, even in his distressed condition, preferred to beat to windward round the entire Louisiade group rather than to seek a passage here on his way to the Dutch Settlements."

Hayes followed Bougainville's example, but, as he states, before he finally left the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, he "discovered where the Louisiade Archipelago was divided from the mainland of New Guinea," a fact not then generally known although it is claimed to have been one of Torres' discoveries,[1] when he visited those regions. If Hayes made the discovery definitely claimed by him, he increased hydrographical knowledge far more than ever Torres did, for it is only reasonable to suppose that he imparted his information to his brother officers. As his term of service in the Bombay Marine was a long one and he afterwards came into contact with numerous navigators, it is easy to realise that many benefited by his investigations and experiences, in spite of the fact that no charts exist to-day to prove to us the extent of his knowledge.

"Immediately to the west of Teste Island," continues Moresby, "the great Louisiade Reef sinks from the surface to a depth of ten or twelve

[1] See "Voyages of Quiros," Hakluyt Soc.; Series II. vol. xv. Map 11.

fathoms and remains submerged for more than one hundred miles to the westward." Here possibly Hayes's boats or ships crossed the coral barrier, and explored the regions enclosed within the reef. The "three small woody islands" seen by Hayes near New Guinea's "south-east extreme" are difficult to identify. If he took the same course as Moresby, the three islands may have been Hayter, Basilisk, and Moresby Islands, lying at the eastern extremity of New Guinea. In taking possession of them in April, 1873, Moresby's proclamation describes them as "Three considerable islands henceforth to be known as Moresby, Hayter, and Basilisk Islands off the east coast of New Guinea, with groups of detached islets . . . all the aforesaid islands and islets lying within the parallels of 10° 25′ and 10° 40′ S. latitude, and between the meridians of 150° 35′ and 151° 20′ E. longitude." [1]

In Hoop Iron Bay, Moresby Island, the natives knew the value of iron, and Moresby says, "some few carefully preserved specimens, in the shape of sharpened bolts and spike nails, we found scattered in most of their villages." He thought that they were probably obtained from the eastern islands of the Louisiades where ships are known to have been wrecked, but it is far more likely that they were relics of Hayes's visit.

It may possibly be argued that Hayes would hardly have described these three islands as

[1] Voyage to New Guinea, by Captain John Moresby, R.N., London, 1876.

"small" ones, in spite of the fact that he came last from New Caledonia, and, before that, from Tasmania, both extensive countries. And it is also difficult to say with any certainty which were the three islands alluded to by Hayes. There is no doubt, however, that he did reach the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea after skirting the Louisiades, and therefore Dumont D'Urville, Macgillivray,[1] who described Owen Stanley's voyage, and various other writers are inaccurate in stating that "since Bougainville's visit the southern shores of the Louisiades remained unvisited until 1840, when D'Urville came there."

On leaving New Guinea Hayes doubled back to Rossel Island, sighted and named by D'Entrecasteaux in honour of M. Rossel. Its native name is Yela. Rounding Cape Deliverance Hayes brought his ships into Pwennagua Harbour. Here he landed with a party of seamen. Writing of his visit and of Cape Deliverance, which forms the most easterly point of the Archipelago, he says: "The cape forms the southern extreme of a high mountainous island (*i.e.* Rossel Island), which terminates the Louisiade. I have called it Bougainville's Island, as he was the original discoverer although he did not land or examine the island. It is inhabited by two distinct races . . . who are cannibals, the one on the mountains, the other on the seashore; the former have strait long black hair and live in huts (or dobbos) formed in the forked parts of

[1] "Voyage of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*," vol. i. p. 176.

high forest trees to which they ascend by long deep notched poles drawn up after the parties; these people resemble the Halfoorie Aboriginal inhabitants of New Guinea and the Molucca Islands. The seashore race live in neatly constructed huts raised upon piles about four feet from the ground similar to those huts erected by the Malays and other islanders to the eastward, which mode of building is alike adopted by the Mughs or Burmese . . . the shore people above alluded to have long woolly hair like the men of New Caledonia, New Britain, New Ireland, and New Guinea. . . . The Bougainville Islanders are at constant strife with each other and devour the individuals made prisoners.

"Upon the east side of Bougainville's Island we landed and disturbed these savages at one of their horrible feasts, and buried the head and remains of the unfortunate victim they were feeding upon. In ranging along the steep shore of the island for anchorage about half a cable's length distant the savages ran along the beach abreast the vessels, and repeatedly discharged their spears at us, which of course fell short until at last we fired a shot from one of our great guns over their heads when they disappeared altogether. The next morning we observed the beach covered with boughs of cocoanut trees both ends stuck into the sand forming the branches into arches which we deemed to be fixed there as marks of submission.

"We accordingly landed and examined their

huts, in which we found human skulls strung indiscriminately with sharks' heads and other noxious animals in festoons all round. We took some tortoiseshell fishing hooks and other (to us) curiosities, and deposited in their place beads, knives, small looking-glasses and various other trinkets, and returned on board hoping thereby to encourage an intercourse the next day. We saw at a short distance natives of both descriptions alluded to, but no signs we could exhibit brought them nearer to us; the next day we repeated our visit and examination of the huts, when we found all our articles had been carried off, but still we could not induce the near approach of any of the savages. We again deposited other articles for their use and quitted their inhospitable abode for New Guinea. . . . Bougainville's Island is steep all round and clear of danger, the level land between the beach on the east side and the foot of the mountains (which run through the island) did not appear to us to be wider at any point than half a mile. Many fine cascades rolled from the top of the mountains down to the plains below."

The Bougainville Island [1] of Hayes is therefore the Rossel Island of D'Entrecasteaux, but the French navigator did not anchor there, and after inspecting some islands in the locality continued his course along the northern shores of the Archipelago. Hayes was the first European to land on Rossel Island or to come in contact with the

[1] This island should not be confused with Bougainville Island in the Solomon Group.

natives. His description of their "horrible feast," quoted above, is the earliest record of them that we have, although in the "History of Entrecasteaux's Voyage" we find accounts of the inhabitants of some of the more northerly islands, who were seen by the French before Hayes had reached the Archipelago. At this point of his voyage Hayes seems to have gained on D'Entrecasteaux, for only on June 11th the French ships on their second voyage from Tasmania had sighted Rossel Island.

Sailors have since learned that all the islands of the Louisiade Archipelago, excepting some of the very low-lying ones, are inhabited; as a rule, the larger islands are covered with grass of a vivid green, and in nearly all cases are protected by coral reefs. Towards the west the reefs become irregular and broken, some fringing reefs, others atolls, or ring-shaped, rising like columns from the depths of the ocean, and some only a few feet above the sea-level. Their surface is composed of white coral and sand, often surmounted by cabbage palms and other tropical vegetation.

Many of the larger islands are thickly wooded with cocoanut, betel, or sago palm trees, which furnish shade for the primitive dwellings of the natives. The dark foliage of the trees is, however, brightened by the varied colours of tropical flowers, including the purple of the bougainvillea, the crimson of the hibiscus and the yellow and white of the frangipani, amid which

flash bright-plumaged birds. In striking contrast to these islands, which teem with animal and vegetable life, there are great insulated masses of dead coral studding the shallow waters and forming miniature islands of altogether different appearance, the coral being white, except where its upper surfaces are blackened through exposure. But even these dead reefs are not entirely destitute of signs of life. Tufts of green sprout from their serrated sides on which flocks of terns and noddies perch, and where, too, the giant clam, *Tridacna gigas,* is found. These huge bivalves sometimes weigh as much as 500 lbs., or even more, and the animal within them considerably over 30 lbs. At ebb-tide they lie with their shells half open, and when they close them the clanging noise and the splashing water tell where they are to be found. Besides these, there are sea-eggs, madrepores, the valuable trepang (*bêche-de-mer* or sea slug), and a curious flying-fish described as being " black with red wings "—which Bougainville says at first sight seemed to him " to possess four wings rather than two."

The natives of Rossel Island, who have been described by Hayes as dwelling on the seashore, are dark-skinned Papuans, black or sooty brown in colour. Wearing their black frizzled hair bunched out round their faces to a great width they decorate it with feathers, flowers, and sea-shells. The people with long straight black hair, who dwelt " in the forest trees," and resembled the Alforas of New Guinea, are found throughout

Polynesia, and are an entirely different race of people from the Papuans.[1]

Continuing his voyage along the northern shores of the Louisiades, Hayes next anchored at an island in latitude 10° 40′ S. and longitude 154° 20′ 20″ E. of Greenwich. This was evidently Misima, the Isle Saint Aignan of D'Entrecasteaux, which differs from the other islands in these waters in having no encircling reef. It is surrounded by steep rocks behind which rise very high mountains.[2] The Commander tried to communicate with the natives but without success. He described them as "horrible cannibals, proving themselves worse than those mentioned by Captain Cook in New Zealand," and adding that, "In spite of all friendly advances they refused to barter articles of food with the seamen or to show us where fresh water was to be obtained." On one occasion, when the crews were on shore, a number of the

[1] The words Alforas, Haraforas, or Harfours, all of which are used to describe these inland tribes, occur in the Arafura Sea, in New Guinea and throughout the Louisiade Archipelago, and are said to be traceable to the Portuguese word "Alforria," meaning "making free" or "to give liberty to slaves," which seems to point to the fact that these mountain races were not of the same origin as the Papuans. Torres himself, in describing the people of New Guinea, says: "At the termination of this land we found Mahometans who were clothed with artillery for service such as falconets, and swivel guns and arquebuses. They go conquering the people who are called Papuans and preach to them the sect of Mahomed." (See Letters of Torres, Ser. II. vol. xv. "Voyages of Quiros," Hakluyt Soc. Publications.)

[2] H.M.S. *Renard* in October, 1879, anchored here in a small bight on the east side of a large bay which probably was the spot where Hayes anchored in 1793.

savages collected round the watering party and endeavoured to prevent them from returning to the ship. An attack seemed imminent; but Hayes would not allow the men to use their fire-arms,[1] and despite the threatening gestures of the natives brought the party down a rocky path to the beach, averting a conflict by his coolness and tact. Notwithstanding this display of unfriendliness, before he embarked, he ordered the presents which had been brought on shore to encourage friendliness, to be placed in a conspicuous spot above the beach. He then withdrew with his men, "leaving," as he expressed it, "the inhospitable shores in peace."

Nearly all the people seen in the Archipelago had their faces painted and their mouths and lips stained blood red with betel juice, thus adding considerably to the ferocity of their appearance. They were the first natives met with by Hayes who chewed the betel, a practice unknown in New Caledonia. Their canoes were hollowed or dug-out tree-trunks, their sides being raised by means of planks, with their prows and sterns built up in like manner, so as to afford shelter for the crews from the arrows of their enemies. Some of the canoes had carved head boards terminating in highly decorated ornaments, which were kept in place by means of grooves running out along the beaks. These ornaments were crowned with tufts of feathers of the bird of paradise.

[1] *India Gazette*, August 12th, 1831, and "Bengal Political Proceedings."

Hayes's vessels finally weighed anchor and made sail from the Louisiades on July 19th, 1793. He tells us that during his stay he surveyed most of the islands near where he anchored, after which he steered his ships to the north-eastern extremity of New Guinea. While the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* were off the New Guinea coast, the sailors were attacked by a form of scurvy. Mr. Robertson, who was still in confinement, was among those who succumbed to the disease and was buried at sea. The supercargo cherished hatred to the last towards Captain Hayes, who thus sums up his character : " Conviction compels me to declare that in him were all the vices of mankind united."

Having reached New Guinea, Hayes was desirous of following a course along the northern shores of the island, and of passing through Dampier's Strait (as D'Entrecasteaux had recently done). He afterwards decided to steer to New Ireland, as a strong current was running through the strait, and the ships could not make any headway against it. Writing of his difficulties he says : "' I intended to range the whole coast of New Guinea and minutely investigate it, but I was disappointed to find that I had been mistaken in a space of two or three degrees in my reckoning, and was compelled to proceed by way of a strait in St. George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland instead of sailing through Dampier's Strait which lies between New Britain and New Guinea." The mistake seems to have compelled Hayes to alter

A NEW GUINEA VILLAGE.

his course again, for at this point he steered an entirely different track from that followed a short time before by D'Entrecasteaux, who had coasted the western or outer shores of New Britain.

Hayes's ships suffered much delay from contrary winds and adverse currents before the southern shores of New Ireland were sighted, in latitude 4° 51′ S. and longitude 135° 46′ E. of Greenwich, where Cape St. George, the most noticeable point of the land, rises to a height of some 5000 feet. The New Ireland coast, as seen from the sea, does not present the delicate beauty characteristic of the coral islands. Precipitous mountains rise abruptly from the shore to a height of many thousand feet, and the land as it trends northward continues bold and unbroken. Upon such rugged shores strong and good canoes are required. These the natives possess, building them in a superior fashion, and on graceful lines. They will carry thirty and even fifty men, and are elaborately carved, the planks being inset with shell and mother-of-pearl, which is found in abundance on the numerous reefs in the locality.

The inhabitants of New Ireland disguise their natural appearance in an extraordinary manner. They not only colour their heads red with the juice of the betel and stain their teeth black with a preparation of burnt iron pyrites, but also paint their bodies white with a mixture of lime and pipeclay, after the manner of the old native of Australia, but with greater skill, tracing grotesque patterns upon them and down their arms and

legs. They build houses of cane and thatch them with palm leaves. Their weapons include the spear, the club and the sling. With the sling they make wonderfully long and accurate shots, throwing a round hard pebble about the size of a small fowl's egg. Their clubs vary very much: some are blunt and heavy with well-rounded knobs from which spikes project at intervals, others are flat and long with edges as sharp as a steel knife.

Hayes thus writes of his arrival at St. George's Channel, discovered and named by Captain Philip Carteret: "Having determined the situation of the entrance I proceeded through the strait. Near the centre I found several islands not mentioned by Captain Carteret. There are two straits there, one running between the islands and New Ireland,[1] through which Captain Carteret sailed, and the other between the islands and New Britain, which I went through."[2]

The islands which Hayes tells us he discovered

[1] The Dutch claim that Schouten discovered New Ireland, which was rediscovered and named by Carteret. It is now a German possession and is no longer called New Ireland, having been renamed New Mecklenburgh by the German authorities. Captain Carteret, in H.M.S. *Swallow*, took possession of the country with all its islands, bays and ports for His Majesty King George III. on Monday, September 7, 1767. Carteret named Gower Harbour, Capes Palliser and Stephen and various islands in this locality.

[2] Carteret, in addition to exploring New Ireland, saw the east coast of New Britain and fixed its northern boundary. He discovered some islands at the mouth of St. George's Channel and called the largest of these Duke of York Island, its native name being Amataka. It is some five miles broad and three and a half long.

here and which had not been seen by Captain Carteret are situated to the west of Duke of York's Island, and consist of Pigeon Island, midway in the strait between New Britain and Duke of York's Island, and three islands close to it named Ulu, Kerawara, and Kobokonolic. Probably these did in fact escape the notice of Carteret.

The Duke of York Group, which Carteret named, is peopled by natives who are a mixture of the inhabitants of New Britain and New Ireland. The ornaments worn by them consist chiefly of dewarra shells, which are made into necklets and entwined round the head. The men wear no clothes, the women wear fringes of dyed grass which hang down from their waists in front and behind. They are dark-skinned though not black, and their hair, which is woolly, is not dressed like that of the New Guinea natives, but as Captain Hunter writes, "it hangs on some like so many candle wicks, or rather like the thrums of a new mop reversed . . . and some wear it a yellow sunburnt colour, others quite red, none are seen with their hair of its natural colour." Hunter also noticed that these natives possessed a curious musical instrument formed of hollow reeds of various lengths tied together, but he adds, "they are not experts in tuning them to harmony, and their songs are far more musical."

Captain John Hunter, afterwards Governor of New South Wales, was a naval captain who, on his way home from Sydney, in 1791, visited New

Ireland in the *Waaksamheyd* (Vigilance), calling the anchorage in which he found himself Port Hunter. He may have seen the islands described by Hayes, but left no record with regard to them.

CHAPTER VI

HAYES ARRIVES AT DOREY

Hayes visits New Britain—Germany and her New Guinea possessions in relation to Australia—The natives of New Britain—Hayes reaches the mainland of New Guinea—He finds anchorage in Dorey Harbour—The condition of his crews—1793.

UPON leaving the Duke of York Group Hayes followed the east coast of New Britain.

The inhabitants paddled out from the mainland and surrounded the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*. Writing of them Hayes says that "the canoes were brought alongside of us and we found the natives were very well inclined to give us anything that we might want, but we could not anchor."

Hayes took the same course as Carteret; his ships sailed past a high land and the range of mountains with three remarkable peaks close to each other upon which Carteret had bestowed the names of Mother and Daughters. Of these three hills the Mother is the middlemost and largest, and two of the three are active volcanoes. Blanche Bay, at their base, now a German port, is subject to disturbances similar to that witnessed by Captain Hayes in New Caledonia. An eruption occurred in 1878 which caused a new island, semicircular in form, and having a short reef or spur

of rocks running out from it, to rise in one night. The whole of the bay is of pumice formation. Blanche Bay is, doubtless, one of the finest harbours in the Southern Hemisphere, and needs but little help on the part of Germany to transform it into a great naval base.

On leaving New Britain Carteret remarks in his journal: "I left it in possession of its ancient name." William Dampier had so christened it in 1701 when he discovered it, after he had coasted New Guinea's northern shore, and had sailed through the strait named after him Dampier Strait. And of its valleys Dampier wrote: "No meadow in England appears more green in the spring than these." "New Britain is well inhabited by strong-limbed negroes who were found to be very daring and bold at places."

Neither Dampier, Carteret, Hayes, nor any of the hardy English seamen who explored the coasts of this land contemplated the possibility of the name of New Britain being ever changed to New Pomerania. Yet this has come to pass.

When Germany stepped forward to take a share of the Western Pacific she helped herself with no niggardly hand. She first claimed 67,000 square miles in north-east New Guinea. Then New Britain [1] and New Ireland, the scenes of Dampier's

[1] The New Britain Group, called by the Germans Bismarck Archipelago, includes New Britain, New Ireland, Duke of York Group, New Hanover, Sandwich, Gerrit Denys, St. John's, Sir Charles Hardy and Fischer Islands and the Kaan Group.

and Carteret's explorations, fell into her possession to reappear upon the map of the world as New Pomerania and New Mecklenburg. Still unsatisfied she turned eastward and annexed a large portion of the Solomon Islands, thus hemming in the sea-front of the whole of north-eastern Australia. Then she went northwards taking Ontong Java, and farther eastward the Marshall Group in 10° N. latitude, and 170° E. longitude, discovered in 1788 by Captains Thomas Gilbert and John Marshall of the British merchant ships *Scarborough* and *Charlotte,* when on their way from Port Jackson to China after having helped to convey Governor Phillip's establishment to New South Wales. These two men can hardly be called explorers. But in their way they were humble imitators of Dampier and Cook, and it is disappointing to find that their discoveries are now lost to their country.[1]

[1] In a series of articles which appeared in the *Sydney Mail* in 1908, Mr. Douglas Rannie pointed out what Australia's position is likely to be in the event of complications at home, and of Holland co-operating with or being seized by Germany. "Then," he observes, "the whole of the Dutch East Indies would form a formidable barrier to commerce and would effectually cut off all intercourse between Australia and the north-east. Germany in conjunction with Holland could command the sea from Acheen in Sumatra to Thursday Island (Queensland), effectually blockade the Straits of Molucca and of Sunda, and dominate the Flores, the Arafura and the Banda seas, thus preventing all communication from the westward with Singapore, Hong Kong, China and Japan. From her naval stations in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and as far east as Samoa, Germany could with ease annihilate the commerce and shipping of Australia." The Dutch islands close to New Guinea are fortified, especially Banda and Amboyna; the latter place was twice taken by the

Hayes passed close to Blanche Bay, but did not enter it. Although the natives paddled out in a most friendly way to welcome his ships, the New Britain inhabitants at other places acted very treacherously. They had the frizzled hair, large noses and thick lips characteristic of the Papuan race in the Western Pacific. Their hair was dyed and their bodies were painted, but in many ways they did not resemble the New Ireland natives. Their weapons were principally slings, spears, and clubs. Their wooden clubs were decorated with many different colours, and their stone clubs formed by drilling a hole through a round stone into which a long handle was passed. The spears were well made, being constructed from strips of the hard bark of the cocoanut palm, sharpened at one end to a tapering point. Like most of the natives of the places that Hayes had visited, they were cannibals.

Their dwellings were built in the form of an ellipse, the eaves of thatch reaching down to about three feet from the ground. From the ships the villages appeared very picturesque, particularly those situated near the shore in a setting of palm groves and flowering shrubs, with a background of lofty hills. After bidding the natives farewell, Hayes says : " I gave them several presents, and I think we have left them a good impression of Europeans. From here I sailed westward."

British, on one occasion during a war in which Hayes played a prominent part, but on both occasions it was handed back to the Dutch.

Leaving New Britain the two ships passed through a number of islands which their Commander mentions in a letter to Lord Cornwallis, "I here discovered an extensive range of islands which I called Lord Cornwallis Archipelago in honour of you, my Lord." Probably this was the group known as the Hermits Islands, discovered in 1781 by Don Francisco Maurelle in the Spanish warship *La Princessa*, and visited by D'Entrecasteaux. This little archipelago consists of small islands grouped round a central one of larger size.

What was thought the most important discovery of the voyage by those on board the vessels had yet to be made. On quitting the archipelago, Hayes sailed southwards to the New Guinea mainland, reaching that part of its coast which he had been unable to explore before because the ships could not weather Dampier Strait. This he now examined, following it in the direction of its north-western extremity, and spending the greater part of August and the early part of September in surveying the land.

As the ships skirted New Guinea an incident occurred on board the *Duke of Clarence* which deserves to rank side by side with the recent Messina story of "Now then, Smith." Hayes tells us that the *Duke of Clarence* was "close hauled on the larboard tack going at the rate of three knots with a light air and smooth water" . . . when the jemidah of the ship's detachment fell overboard "to windward from the larboard

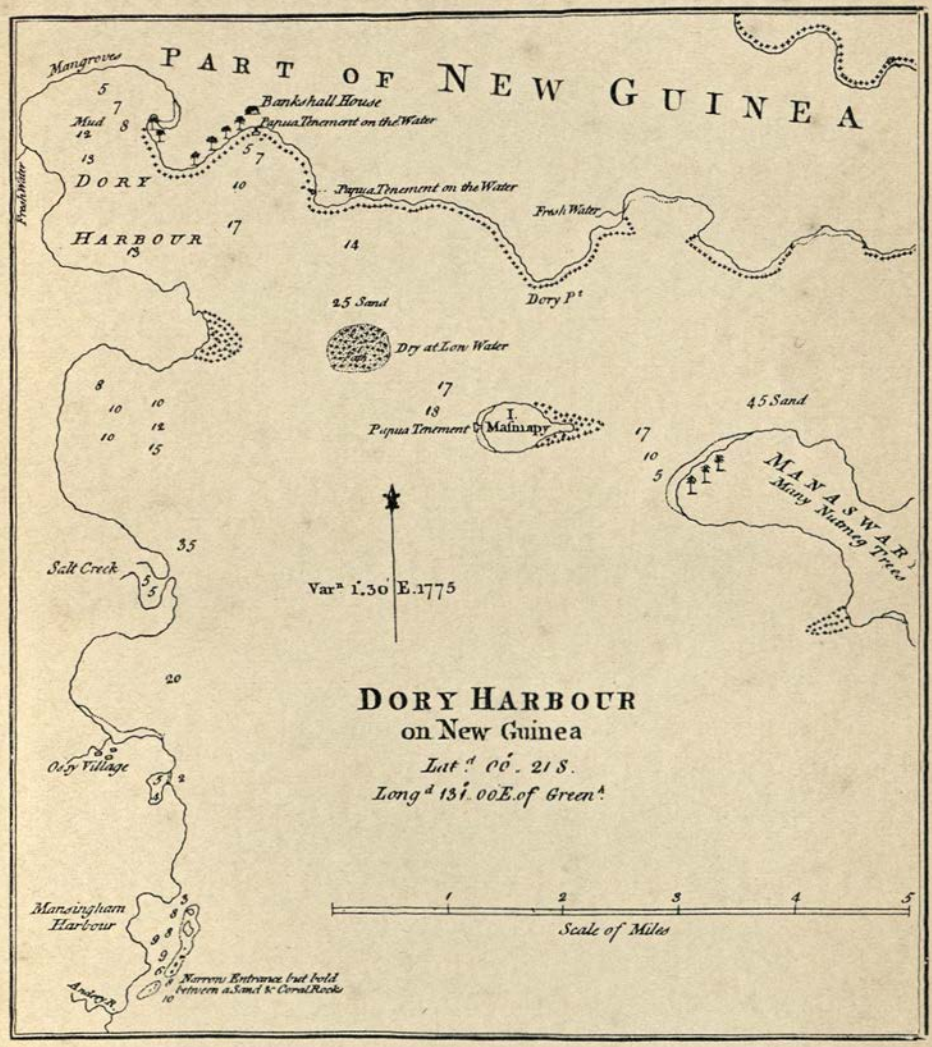
anchor." The Commander at once ordered the helm to be cut down, which brought the ship round instantly and the "unfortunate jemidah in the water abreast of the gangway." At that moment a large shark was seen approaching him, and his cries for help became distressing. Captain Hayes straightway called upon William Clark, his gunner, to take the end of a rope and leap overboard upon the fish, then in the act of turning to seize his prey. Clark never hesitated, and his leap so startled the shark that it turned and beat a hasty retreat to about a cable's length distance away. Before it recovered sufficient courage to return to the ship both the gunner and the jemidah were got on board. The native officer, however, died ten minutes afterwards, although his body was uninjured. He had, in the opinion of the surgeon, been killed by the shock.[1]

At this time the health of the seamen gave great cause for anxiety. Their sickness was an aggravated form of the scurvy that had attacked them on their first arrival at the southern end of New Guinea.

Day by day it thinned the ranks of both crews, and left those who survived terribly weak and unfit. At last Captain Hayes himself fell ill, and then his officers and men, who had so long braved dangers and hardships without a murmur, gave way to despondency.

In spite of his condition, Hayes continued to

[1] Captain Hayes himself describes Clark's heroism in the *India Gazette*.



DOREY HARBOUR.

[From Forrest's Voyage.

command and navigate his two ships, until, to the general relief, his health gradually improved. Meanwhile the vessels passed over the great indentation which breaks the north-western shore of New Guinea, known to geographers as Geelvink Bay,[1] and when they crossed it found themselves at the entrance of a fine harbour, where their Captain at once decided to anchor.

The entire width of the great bay of Geelvink is over 500 miles, and so deep is it, that its extreme points have the appearance of peninsulas. One of them, known for long as Dorey Peninsula, sheltered the harbour of Dorey. Into it Hayes took his ships, and his men landed on the north side. Its latitude he gives as 2° 20′ S., and the longitude as 140° 47′ E.

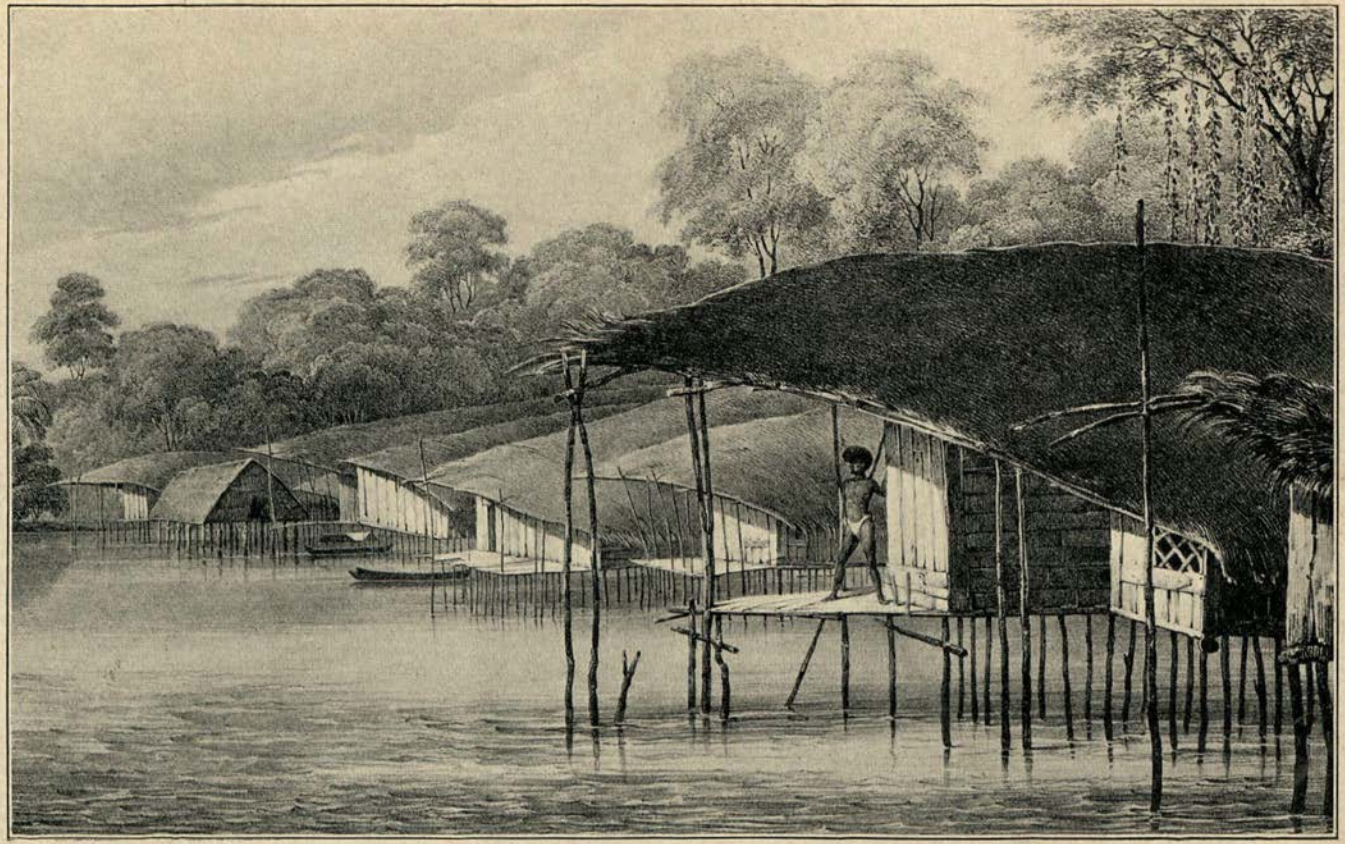
Long continuance at sea had reduced both officers and crew to a terrible plight, which Hayes thus describes: "I ranged the whole of the eastern side of New Guinea and found there a fine bay where I anchored on September 18th in a state truly distressing, having lost half my ships' company by the scurvy, and the remaining portion were in a dying state, myself not excepted. Only two men on board the *Duke of Clarence* were capable of going aloft, and on board the *Duchess* there were only six left who were able to do duty. Had the ships been detained one month longer at sea they would in

[1] Geelvink Bay was so named by the commander of a Dutch yacht, the *Geelvink*, *i.e.* Yellow Hammer, in honour of his ship which coasted the shores in 1705.

all probability have been left to the mercy of the elements. In my opinion none of us would have survived so long. The salt provisions and rice which were our only food, instead of strengthening us, proved most destructive."

Continuing his narrative, Hayes writes: "Dorey Harbour on the north-east side of New Guinea is situated at the foot of the great mountains named Arfack which may be seen upwards of 30 leagues at sea. We had the highest peaks one-third above the water when we observed (them) in 33° north of the line and stood towards them due south 60 miles on the south of the line before we anchored in the harbour. This gives their distance by measurement 93 miles in a direct line. I anchored and decided to remain in the harbour which I called Restoration Bay, for we were not only restored to health but to apparent affluence from the richness of the country. Restoration Bay is capable of holding one hundred sail of shipping of the largest dimensions, as well as being completely landlocked from all winds and dangers of the sea."

Restoration Bay was situated on the mainland of New Guinea and not, as has since been affirmed by various authorities, on the island of Manaswari. Sir John Shore, after examining Hayes's charts, declared that Dorey Harbour and Restoration Bay were "indisputably the same place."



NATIVE DWELLINGS IN RESTORATION BAY.

CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN NEW GUINEA

Restoration Bay—Its inhabitants and its products—New Albion—Hayes takes possession—His Proclamation—Fort Coronation—Plantations and a factory—William Schouten—Thomas Forrest.

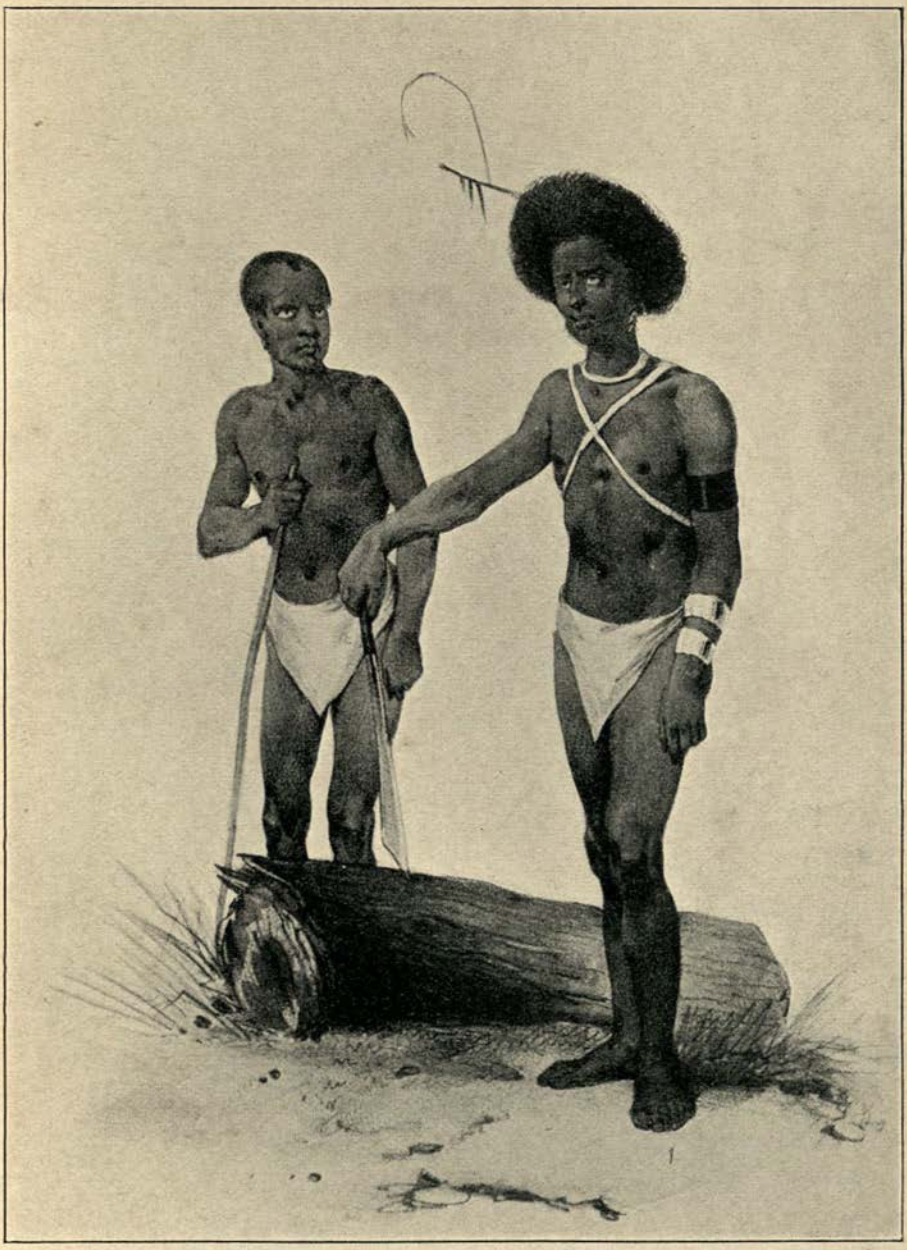
HAYES's landing at Dorey Bay seems to have been purely "a lucky accident." His partners, Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, afterwards spoke of him as being its first discoverer, in which, however, they were mistaken, as this part of New Guinea had been known to Europeans in the early part of the sixteenth century and visited, at long intervals, since that time. McCluer, in 1791, had surveyed land in the vicinity of Geelvink Bay, but it seems unlikely that he entered the harbour into which Hayes took the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*.

The natives of Restoration Bay welcomed Hayes and his comrades in a very friendly way, and gave invaluable assistance to the sailors in replenishing their ships, the population in the immediate neighbourhood being estimated to consist of 1500 people. The country round the bay was fertile, and the air good and temperate, as may be judged from the fact that the thermometers, by observation, from the beginning of September

to the end of December, never rose above 86°, although the sun was vertical during these months. To the sailors, weakened by scurvy, it appeared a veritable Garden of Eden. Many kinds of edible plants were found growing in abundance. Among them were a native vegetable resembling spinach, lemon grass, and a herb known to seamen as scurvy grass on account of its supposed efficacy in helping to combat the ravages of that disease. In the neighbouring woods there was an abundance of tropical fruits; it was indeed chiefly to the plentiful supply of these as well as to the grasses that the crews attributed their speedy restoration to health.

John McCluer's information proved correct. Nutmegs and equally valuable spices were soon discovered. Upon the island of Manaswary, or Manaswari, situated at the entrance to the harbour, and which Hayes named King George's Island in honour of George III., at least three hundred nutmeg trees of full growth were counted. They were not, however, the round species known as the Banda nutmeg, but were elongated and better known as Warong, the name given them in the Moluccas.

Upon going further into the country under the guidance of the natives, Captain Hayes saw growing in the woods other nutmeg trees which, he felt sure, were the true Banda nutmeg, called Keyan by the people of the Moluccas. In one of his letters he writes: "The natives unasked soon convinced me that I was in the



NATIVES OF DOREY BAY.

exact spot I had wished to discover, by bringing us nutmegs, clove bark, missoy bark, birds of paradise, etc., etc.[1] As they kept on stripping the nutmeg trees of the half-grown fruit in a most prodigal manner, I made signs to them that they were of no value to us which caused them to desist. They have so little idea of their value, that they would bring me two or three pounds' worth in return for an empty bottle, and conceive themselves highly rewarded. They brought those of the long kind like those growing upon King George's Island, and I think the three hundred trees there, if cultivated, would each yield a Bengalee maund (*i.e.* equal to eighty pounds) twice a year."

The natives were Papuans and lived along the coast. They were almost naked, the dress of the men, as a rule, being simply a breech-cloth of bark, while the women wore a short petticoat of woven grass. Their language differed from that of the mountain tribes, whose speech more resembled that of the natives of Borneo. In trading with them the neighbouring islanders chiefly used a mixed dialect of Malayan and Papuan.

Their sea-going canoes were constructed principally from the trunks of large trees, fitted with outriggers, which made them awkward to bring alongside of the European vessels. They were

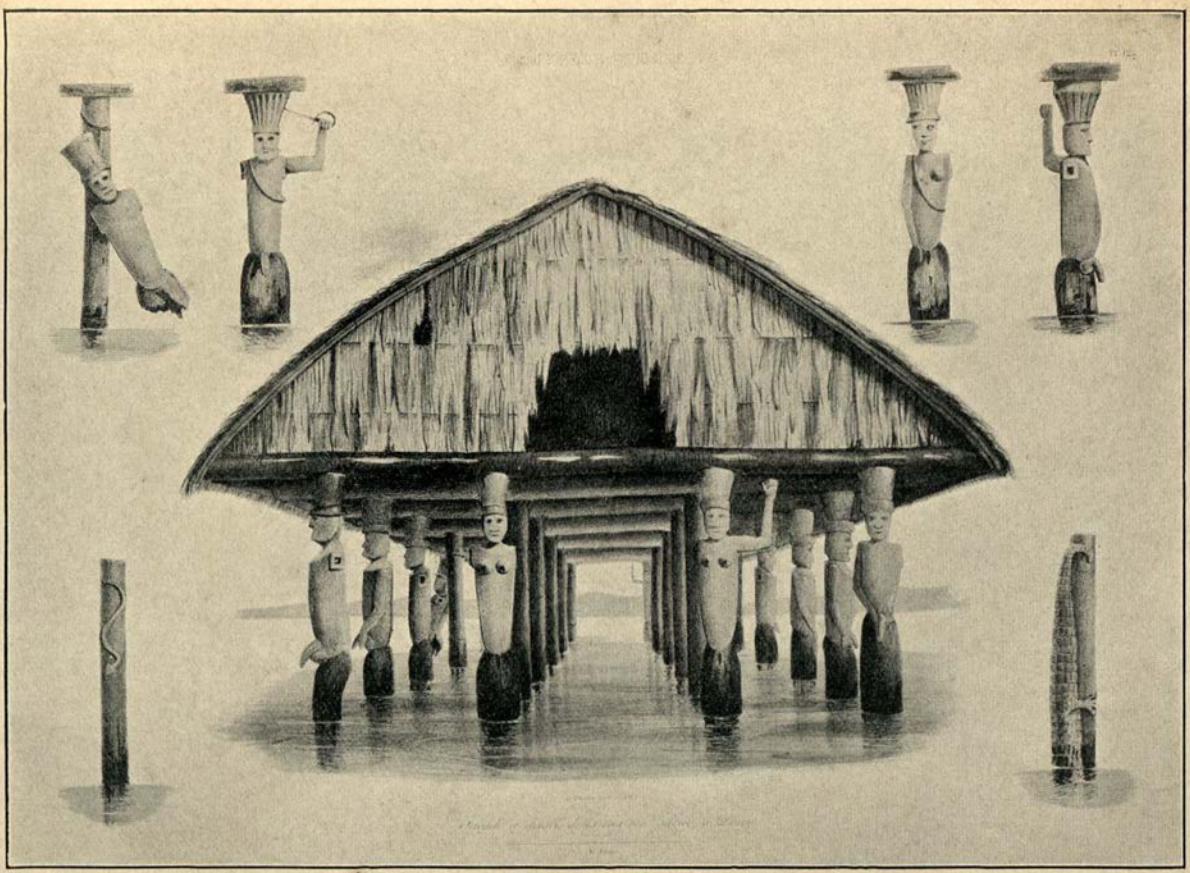
[1] Crawfurd says that the forests of New Guinea produce three plants which have been immemorially in demand by the natives of the Malayan islands, namely, the true nutmeg, the missoy or masui, and the pulasari.

not unlike the corocoros [1] of the Moluccas, with sails of coarse matting.

The chief amusements of the people appeared to be hunting the wild hog in the woods, and fishing for trepang. Patches of cultivated land surrounded by hedges could be seen at some distance from the bay, and in these cultivated spots, rice, maize, millet, and yams were raised. The fruits of the sago palm (libby tree), cocoanut palm, and plantain were also eaten, sago cakes being their chief food. Their houses were curious, being built on piles and posts above the waters of the harbour, which at high tide reached nearly to the floors. They were connected with the shore by means of bridges formed of tree-trunks. Their temples, still more curious, were covered with grotesque carvings of remarkably good design. In the bay there were numerous beds of oysters containing small pearls of no great value; these the natives used to barter with their visitors.

Captain Hayes thought so highly of Dorey and its products that he decided to form a settlement there immediately. He gave the name of New Albion to all the territory surrounding the bay, and called the high mountains, which formed a boundary to the eastward, the Pacific Alps (their native name being Arfak or Arfaxi). In

[1] A corocoro is a vessel fitted with outriggers having a high arched stem and stern like the points of a half moon. They are used in the Moluccas and the Dutch employed them as *guarda costas*. They vary from a very small size to above ten tons. They are steered by two commoodies (broad paddles) and not by a rudder.



FAÇADE OF A SACRED HOUSE IN DOREY HARBOUR.

[*From an early French print.*

the old Dutch charts their tops are represented as rising above the clouds. Other portions of the coast, as well as the adjoining islands, were also assigned distinguishing names. Among these may be mentioned an island, the Maspmapy of the natives, close to King George's Island, which was called Queen Charlotte's Isle in honour of the Queen, and a harbour farther southward Princess Royal Harbour. With almost boyish enthusiasm the English Commander made plans to annex the land on behalf of his country.

On the north side of the harbour parties were set to work to build a strong stockade fort out of the logwood which grew plentifully in the neighbourhood, and upon this being completed by October 25th, the anniversary of the King's Coronation, it was called Coronation Fort. On that day the Union Jack was hoisted, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and Hayes took formal possession of the country in the name of King George III., the following proclamation being also drawn up and signed by Captain Hayes and his officers.

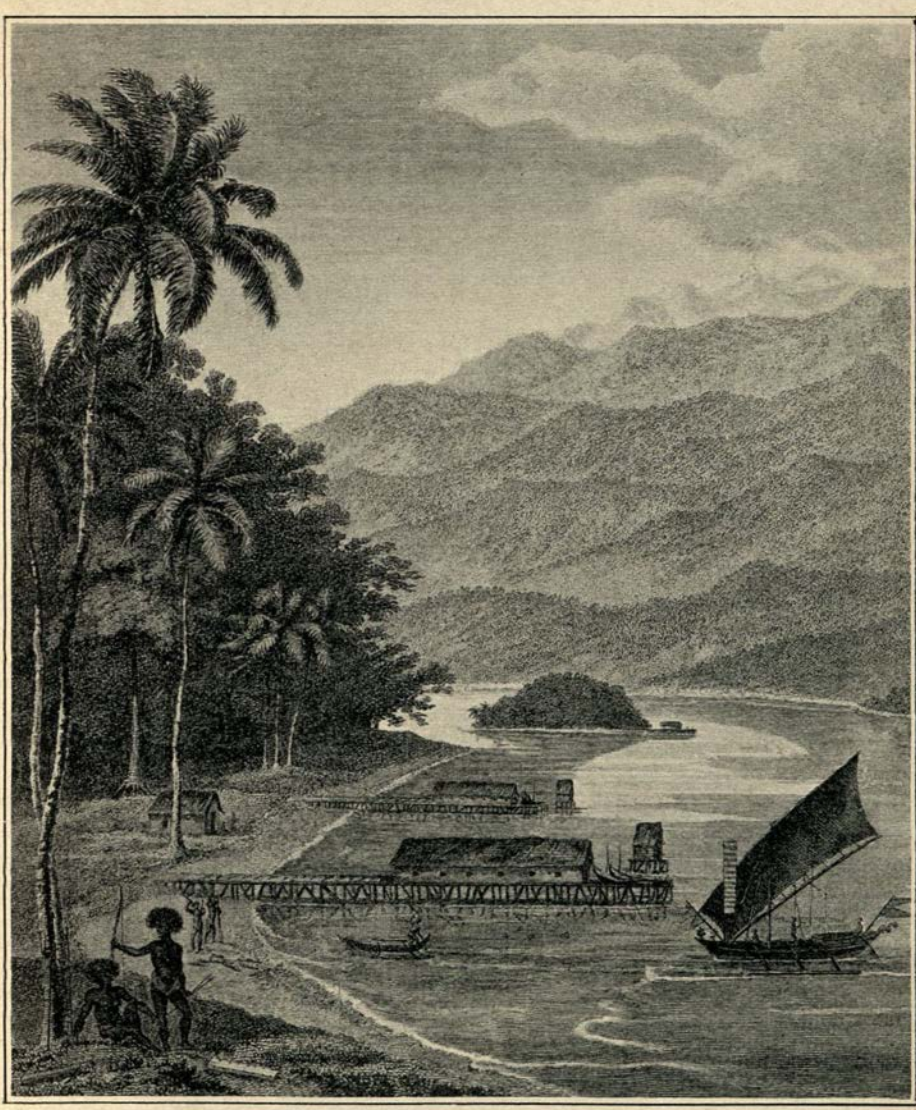
PROCLAMATION.

"To all nations, states, countries, Sovereigns, and Heads of such and all other persons whatsoever these presents, greeting. I inform them that the country, Islands, Harbour, hereafter and herein specified and explained by the annexed chart have been regularly taken possession of on behalf of the King and Nation of Great Britain,

and do hereby solely belong to the King and Nation of Great Britain for ever. No other Nation, State, Power, or Persons having the smallest claim to any part whatever of these possessions nor right to trade directly or indirectly within these boundaries, explained by the annexed chart, without showing a particular warrant under the seal of Great Britain to the person residing as British Governor at Fort Coronation, the Presidency of these possessions, viz. :—

"From Catherine's Island South East point in Latitude 10° 39′ South, and Longitude 154° 24′ 20″ East, to Point Dispute, Prince Edward's Roads in Latitude 00° 21′ South, and Longitude 131° 6′ 8″ East, taking in William Hayes' Strait and Island—vide aforesaid chart. The country and coast situated between these boundaries is called and hereafter known by no other name than the country and coast of New Albion which includes Restoration Bay or Harbour, at the north side of which is Fort Coronation adjacent the islands King George and Queen Charlotte: further on to the southward the islands [1] and Harbour called Princess Royal Islands and Harbour, between Point Observation and Mount Satisfaction, the small island called Confirmation Island, the high and large mountains forming the fourth and eastern boundary of Restoration Bay

[1] These probably were the islands of Amberpon and Meoswar —Point Observation most likely being Cape Orangsuari, and Mount Satisfaction the mountain known as Mamuniwei by the Papuans. According to the Dutch, Hayes's people afterwards spent some time at Amberpon during the period of McCluer's visit.



DOREY HARBOUR, NEW GUINEA.

[From Forrest's Voyage.

are called the Pacific Alps. All the lesser bays, rivers, etc., are laid down and named in the annexed chart which is to be considered the criterion of these possessions now annexed to the Crown of Great Britain. God save the King.

"Done at Fort Coronation this twenty-fifth day of October in the thirty-third year of the reign of our Gracious Sovereign George The Third by the grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith, etc., in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

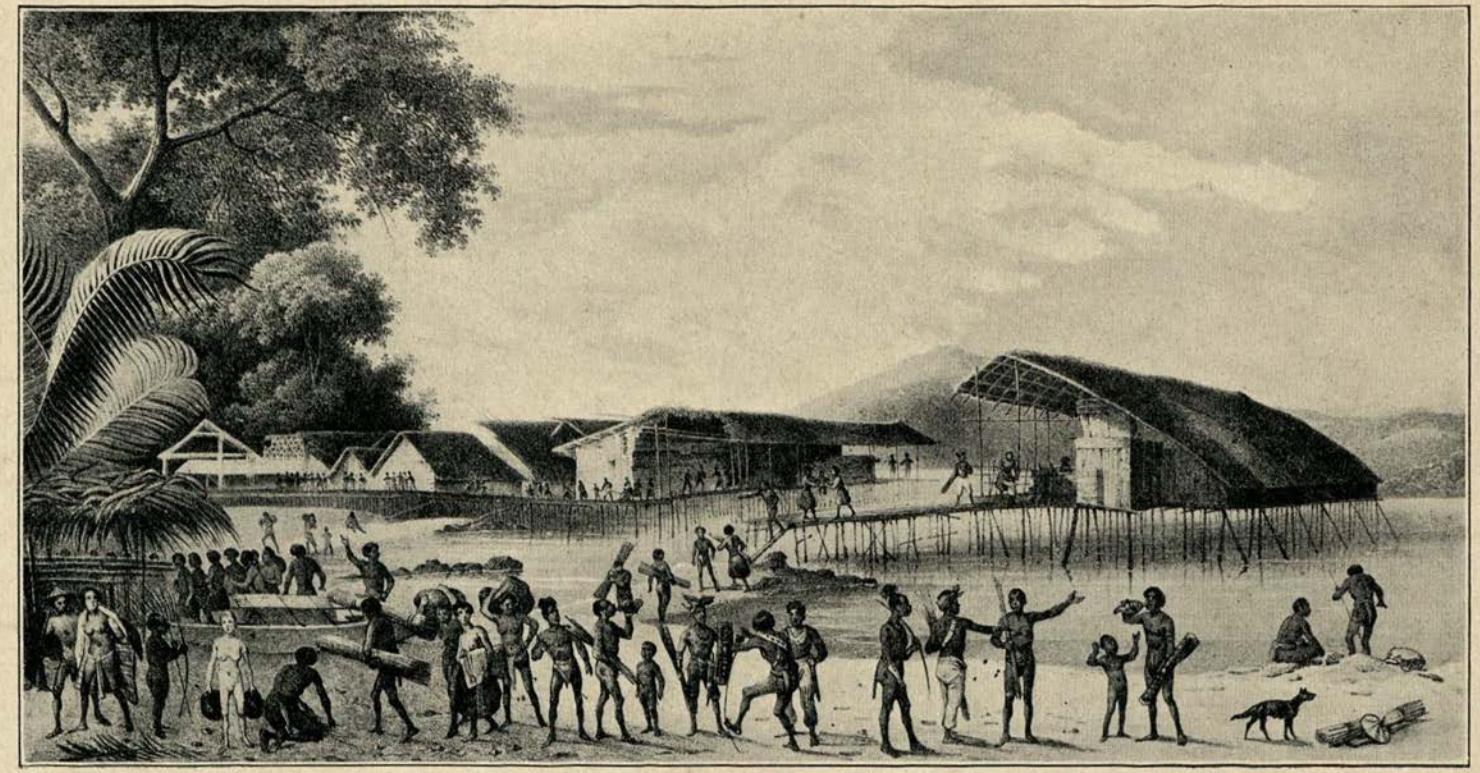
Signed,
JOHN HAYES. L.S.
THOMAS WATKIN COURT. L.S.
WILLIAM RELPH. L.S.
WILLIAM BELLAMY RISDON."

It will be seen that Captain Hayes in defining his colony of New Albion included within it practically the whole of the northern coast of New Guinea. Nearly a century later another notable attempt was made to bring New Guinea under British rule, when Sir Thomas McIlwraith (Premier of Queensland) gave orders for the Union Jack to be hoisted there. Mr. H. M. Chester, then stationed at Thursday Island, was instructed to proceed to New Guinea and to take possession of all the territory not actually claimed by the Government of the Netherlands. The whole eastern half of the island was thus annexed for England. This action was, however, repudiated by those in

authority at home, as was that of Hayes by the East India Company. Since then north-eastern New Guinea has become a German dependency, forcing England to annex the south-western part as contiguous to Australia.

Having acquitted himself on his country's behalf as narrated above, Captain Hayes lost no time in examining the natural products which grew in the vicinity and in testing the capabilities of the soil. Seeds of several kinds brought from Bengal had already been sown, and roots were also planted, including yams, onions, and potatoes. Fortunately the pot-herbs matured so quickly that a sufficient quantity was soon available for the ships' crews, and the fresh vegetables proved an inestimable benefit to them.

A factory, begun by some of the spare hands while the fort was being built, was now finished and ready for use, the Papuans having given considerable assistance in its erection. In it were stored the clove bark and spices which had been gathered in the woods and brought down to the settlement to be cured. This operation was found to be somewhat tedious, but here again the natives proved very helpful. For seven days in succession Captain Hayes accompanied a party of sailors upon expeditions from the fort into the interior, where he personally directed the stripping of the missoy bark which was carried down to Restoration Bay to be dried. Hayes says that he knew that this bark " fetched a high price in the markets of India and sold as high as



NATIVE INHABITANTS AT RESTORATION BAY.

sixty dollars per pecul in China. The natives eat the buds of the tree. The leaf, which is exactly the same as the cinnamon when dried, tastes and answers the purpose of the bayleaf." "The clove itself," he continues, "I could not find, although the natives declared that it grew in the island, but farther to the eastward."

From the first Hayes determined that his people should keep on friendly terms with the Papuans, and having soon discovered how useful they were to him, he knew that if well-treated they might prove even more so. With his sailors to superintend their work he taught them how to lay out plantations adjoining the factory, and these, when ready for use, he stocked with 1500 young missoy trees which he caused to be dug up at some distance inland and carried down to the bay. Some nutmeg trees of the round species were also brought to the Fort. In addition to the spices mentioned, dyewoods and roots for dyeing grew in the country, among them sapan and logwood. The forests of the interior abounded with valuable timber, the most noteworthy being black walnut, ebony, iron wood, and the eastern teak, known to Hayes from his experience in the Moluccas as "fatty wood," out of which the natives built their war canoes and sometimes their houses. Large quantities of fish were caught in the bay, and large and small turtle were found to frequent its shores, to which wild fowl, and other birds shot inland, proved a valuable addition. Among the birds killed

Hayes records that some were very beautiful; he particularly mentions the birds of paradise, crowned pigeons, kingfishers, and parrots. Signs of gold, known to the natives under the name of "buloan," were also found in the high mountains ranging Dorey Peninsula. It is recorded that near the harbour swarms of parrots and small birds did incalculable mischief to the fruit of the nutmeg trees, so that it was found necessary to take vigorous measures to check their depredations.

Altogether there was so much that was desirable at this spot that Captain Hayes and his company must have been disappointed to find that they were not the first Europeans to visit it. The mistake they made is not surprising when we consider how little is known about New Guinea even at the present time, and that it is still in process of being opened up by fresh explorations. Even more experienced seamen than Captain Hayes have been unable to identify different anchorages already visited by former navigators in these seas. It would therefore be difficult to say with authority who was the first pioneer of much of the coast. Some Dutch authorities claim the particular portion of New Guinea where Hayes set up his factory as the discovery of William Schouten, who in company with Lemaire ranged its shores in 1616. But, unfortunately for the Dutch, Schouten himself, on July 23rd, 1616, wrote in the journal of his voyage, as translated into English in 1619 by W. P. (*i.e.* William Phillip): "We saw among the natives of the

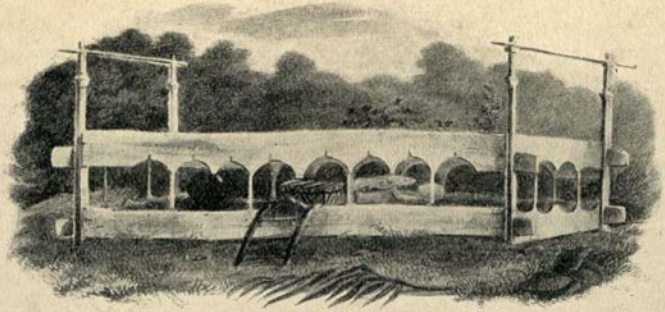
NATIVE TOMB NEAR DOREY, NEW GUINEA.

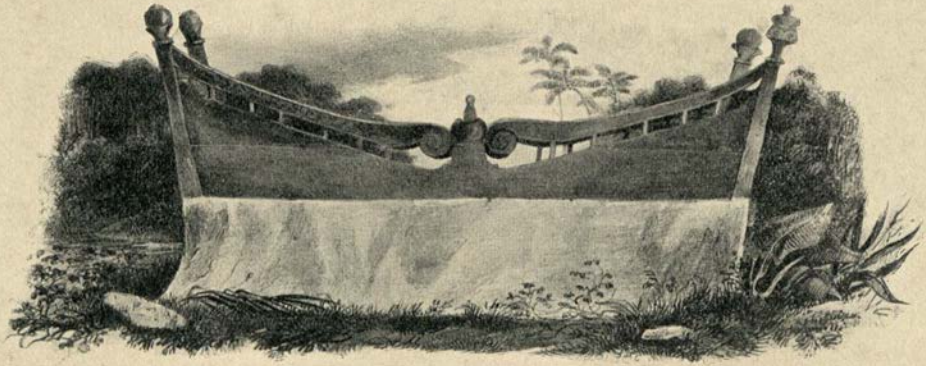
small islands adjacent (to the mainland) chinay porcelaine, and bartered for two dishes whereby we were persuaded that many Christian shippes had been there for they wondered not at our shippe;" and he also describes green, white, and blue glass rings sticking in their ears, which, he adds, "we gest they had from the Spaniards." [1] Next day Schouten "sayled along a faire great island, green and pleasant to behold," which was accordingly named William Schouten's Island, the west point being called the Cape of Good Hope. This cape is noteworthy because, in after years, mariners looked for it, and mentioned it in many log-books. Old geographers, in a manner confusing to the modern reader, give the name to not one but two capes of New Guinea. Tasman,

[1] Long before Schouten came Europeans had touched there, and it is curious to find that the land of New Guinea can claim a first discovery which dates back to only five years after Magellan's great voyage across the Pacific. Old geographers state that, in 1520, Don George de Meneses saw New Guinea and that a year later Alvaro de Saavedra, when 260 leagues south of the Moluccas, proceeded along the south coast of an island and anchored at what he called the Island of Gold, where he met with black-skinned natives, having frizzled hair, an island believed to have been Papua. The word Papua, or Papoos, in native Malayan language, means curly haired. Argensola, the Spanish historian, adds to the fact that they were curly haired the information that they were "a stern people fit for treachery." Again, in 1542, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos sailed to Mindanao, and one of his vessels, the *San Juan*, under the command of Ortiz de Retes, in May, 1545, touched these shores, to which Retes gave the name of New Guinea, because the natives resembled those of Guinea in Africa. Galvano says, Retes knew not that Saavedra had been there so he challenged that discovery. The name New Guinea soon after this appeared on world maps, and we find it on Linschoten's Atlas made in 1596.

however, places the Cape of Good Hope in the vicinity of Geelvink Bay, where Schouten had reported it to be.[1] Crawfurd, who says that the Asiatic name of Schouten's Island was Mysory, actually places it at the entrance of Geelvink Bay. Hayes's predecessor, Captain Forrest, also informs us that they, Schouten and Lemaire, "saw a pleasant island, called in the map 'Horn,' a name which the crew changed to Schouten after their commander." Forrest also says that he has reason to believe that the promontory of Dorey is the same land.

[1] Modern geographers place the Cape of Good Hope in Arfak Peninsula in 0° 19′ S. L.





CARVING ON NATIVE TOMB.

PAPUAN TOMB ON MASPMAPY.

TOMB OF A DOREY CHIEF.

CARVING ON NATIVE TOMB.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "DUKE OF CLARENCE" LEAVES DOREY

Hayes leaves Restoration Bay for India in the *Duke of Clarence* —Court remains in charge—The need for provisions and how it was met—Hayes at Bouro—He proceeds to Timor—He reaches Java—The *Recherche* and *Espérance* found at Java —D'Entrecasteaux dead—1793–1794.

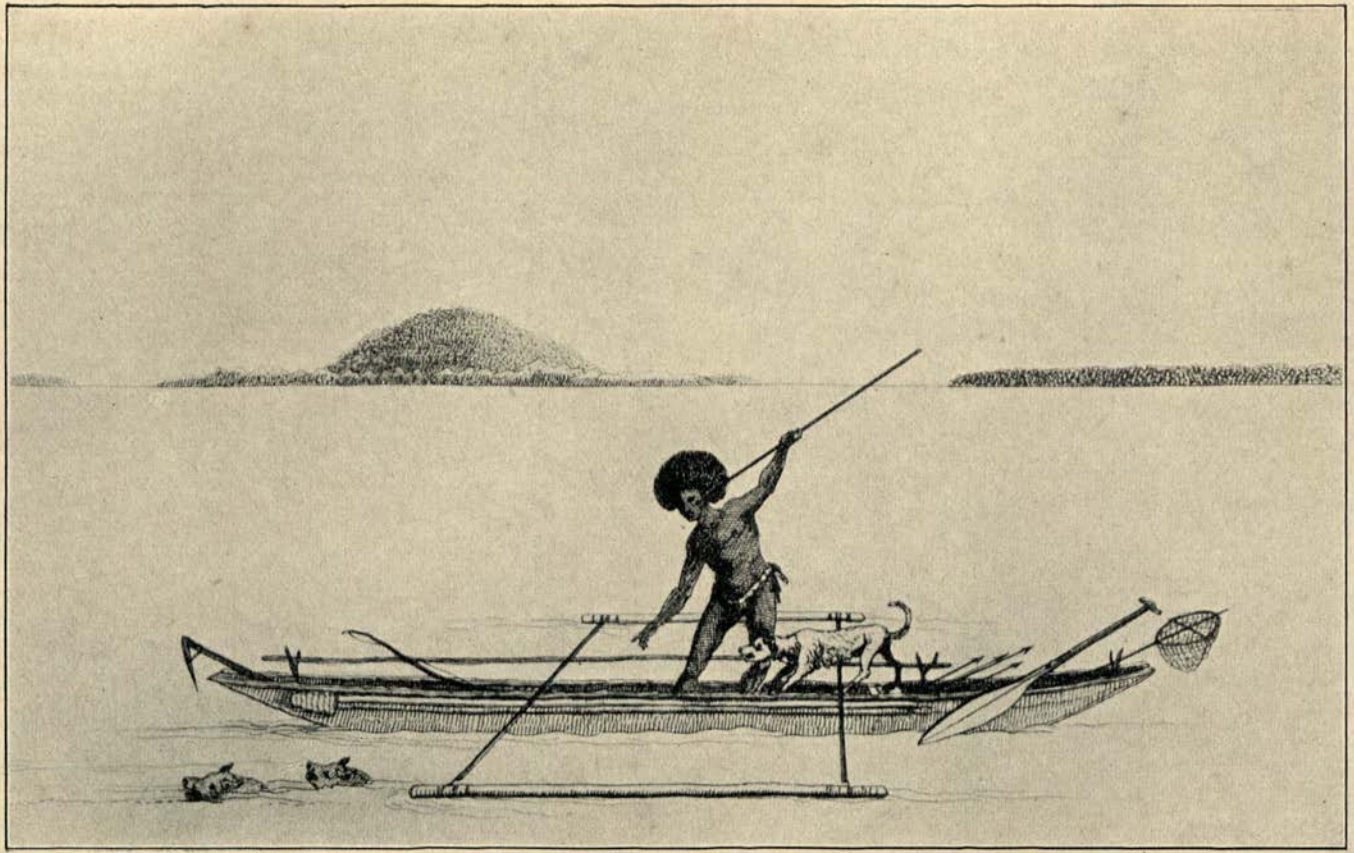
DURING the latter portion of his stay at Restoration Bay, Captain Hayes continued to occupy his time in collecting spices and preparing them for shipment. He was anxious to recoup his partners and himself for the expenditure which had been incurred in fitting out the expedition, and as the Papuans showed themselves harmless and friendly he still made use of them, with the result that eventually he had no less than five hundred of them carrying out his orders at the settlement. They lived in a village close to the factory. He thus writes of them: "I found that some of the more important natives possessed authority over others who were in fact slaves. Many of these were offered in sale to my people in return for the smallest trifle—even a piece of blue bafta would have bought one,—but I gave orders that on no account was one to be purchased." In many cases these slaves appeared to be prisoners of war, possibly inland natives, Alfuros or Haraforas,

whom he has elsewhere likened to the mountain races at Rossel Island.

From the time of their first arrival at Dorey the careening of the ships was a matter of great concern to Hayes, for owing to the long voyage without a proper overhaul, they had become so foul as to be in a very bad condition, particularly the *Duchess*. Captain Hayes tells us that his officers made a survey of both vessels, and that the *Duchess* was formally condemned as unseaworthy.

Being thus left with but one sound ship, Hayes saw how imperative it was that no time should be lost in returning to India. On the other hand, there existed many important reasons for remaining at the settlement. The greater portion of the missoy bark gathered into the factory had not yet been cured, and if carried away before being dried would be spoilt and unfit for use. In the circumstances, the Commander determined to take the opinion of his officers and crew as to his future movements. For this purpose he called a meeting, at which he explained to his men exactly how matters stood. After a long discussion, it was finally agreed that Captain Hayes should take a cargo of spices back to India in the *Duke of Clarence*, while Captain Court and two other officers, with twelve European seamen, eleven Sepoys and Lascars (all of whom voluntarily expressed a wish to remain) should take charge of Fort Coronation and of the ship *Duchess*, together with the work at the factory.

In the interval before his departure from



PAPUAN SPEARING WILD HOGS.

[*From Forrest's Voyage.*

Restoration Bay Hayes took care that the defences of the Fort should be considerably strengthened, so that the settlement might be prepared for eventualities. Accordingly six four-pounders were removed from the ships to Fort Coronation with all the arms and ammunition that could be spared. It was further decided that Captain Relph and Mr. Risdon should return to India with Captain Hayes in the *Duke of Clarence,* while the following officers and men were to remain at the settlement :—

Captain Thomas Watkin Court, Senior Officer in charge of Fort Coronation.
R. Lander, Second Officer.
F. Croom, Third Officer.

Joseph Davies
M. Hanson
Jno. Lee
C. Jenson
J. Wilson
P. Casey
J. Carcer
J. Robinson
J. Hughes
O. Coats
T. Anderson

Europeans selected from the crews of the *Duchess* and the *Duke of Clarence,* with whom were eleven Lascars and Sepoys.

Hayes saw with much disappointment that the nutmegs were not ripe enough to allow a cargo of them to be shipped. He therefore left instructions at the Fort for a good store to be gathered when they were sufficiently matured. In the meantime

all the spices already cured at the factory were placed on board the *Duke of Clarence*. The Commander tells us something about her cargo in writing to Sir John Shore : " I have cured 1000 piculs of missoy bark which I expect to sell for 20,000 sicca dollars, and in addition I have great quantities of Cooly Louang, a bark of nearly the same nature and equally as valuable, and of Dammer, besides six kinds of betel nut and inferior logwood. I left at the plantation formed by us near the fort 1500 young missoy trees and several female or round nutmegs. I send you by Captain Relph, lately in command of the *Duchess*, a round nutmeg tree that had its first crop of fruit growing when I took it up. They were perfectly round, about half grown, the mace being perfect and delicate. I found none of the round nutmeg trees above eight feet high, at which size they bear fruit and appear to be of two or three years' growth. Three years is the time allotted the Banda nutmeg to produce their first crop. I shall describe the New Albion nutmeg, and am confident that they are the same in every respect." A specimen of the round nutmeg tree was placed in a tub to be carried away, being given into Captain Relph's care, as Captain Hayes wished to prove to the world that this valuable species grew in New Guinea. Among the various products also taken on board were tortoiseshell, beeswax, and ambergris, besides various other articles of commerce.

About the middle of December Hayes hastened his departure as his provisions at that time had

become so reduced that after reserving enough for the maintenance of the Fort there were only sufficient for the voyage of the *Duke of Clarence* to India. He bade farewell to Captain Court and his comrades at the settlement, embarking with his crew on December 22nd. He then steered for the Moluccas, calling first at Batchian, the largest and most southerly island of the group, anchoring in Freshwater Bay, called by him Edmund Burke's Bay, by which name, however, it has never been known. The natives were friendly, evidently pleased at the visit, for before the ship sailed they solicited the officers on several occasions to remain and to take over the island. The *Duke of Clarence* arrived at Bouro [1] on February 16th, and Hayes tells us that by the time they reached this point in their journey the crew were greatly in need of proper food. For two months they had lived on rice and water, for "excepting a small quantity of fish," he adds, "nothing could be obtained at most of the islands we touched at."

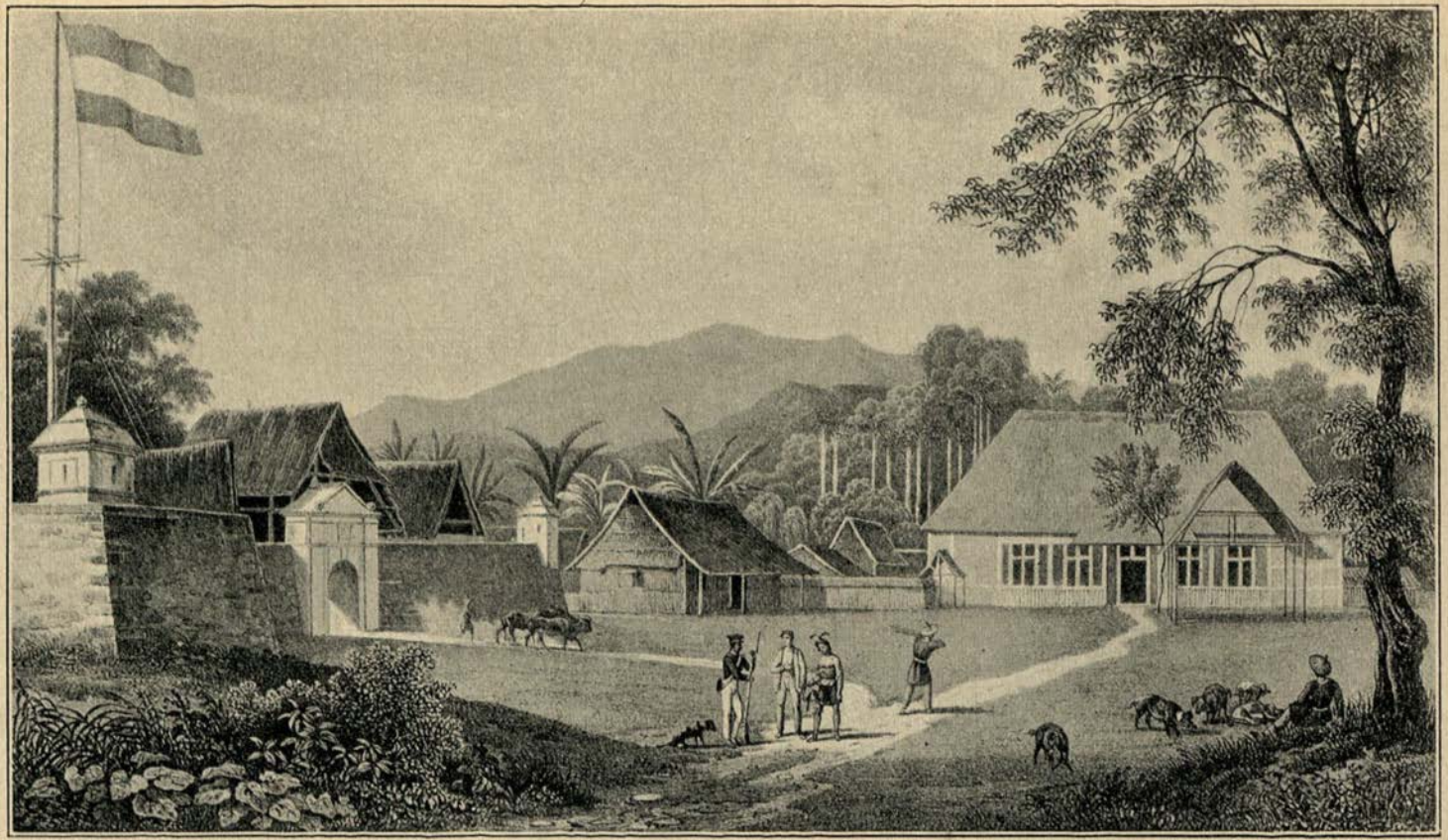
In summing up the events connected with Hayes's voyage as far as Bouro, it might be said that from the time of his leaving Calcutta he had not once been able to replenish his ships. At most of the ports at which he had called the food

[1] The island rises high above the water and abounds with a great variety of birds so that the Malays have called it Bouro, or Bird Island. Its population is composed of natives who are more like the mountain tribes of New Guinea than the Papuans. Hayes anchored at Caeli, or Cayeli, the principal bay of the island, which is large enough to afford anchorage for a considerable fleet.

supply was limited to fish and a few edible plants, while the provisions which the *Duke of Clarence* took on board at Restoration Bay were, apart from rice, of such a perishable nature that they were soon exhausted. There is little doubt that when the ship's company reached Cayeli Bay they were all, from the Captain downwards, looking forward to, and badly wanted, a change to wholesome and sustaining food.

No sooner had Hayes entered the zone of civilisation, however, than a new difficulty with respect to his food supply confronted him. He thus describes the situation: "On my arrival at Bouro I had been from any hospitable port where provisions of any kind for sea stock could be procured twelve months and seven days. I sent my first officer to Amboyna to solicit provisions for my ship, and he returned and informed me that he could not procure any without giving bills upon the Company." For the time being the reply he received from the Dutch Governor seems to have nonplussed Captain Hayes, but in spite of the predicament in which he found himself, nothing could induce him to draw bills upon the East India Company. Remembering the unfailing kindness ever shown him by Lord Cornwallis, under whom he had served in the war against Tippoo, he preferred to make use of his old commander's name in order to obtain the stores which he so badly needed.

The first officer was despatched to Amboyna for a second time with the bills drawn by Captain Hayes upon Lord Cornwallis. "During the



CAYELI BAY, BOURO.

interim," writes Hayes, "our daily wants were in a measure supplied by the Dutch Resident at Bouro," of whom he adds a quaint eulogy—"a good but poor man he wanted not the inclination but the ability to help us."

The same Dutch Resident five months earlier had entertained the French. As their ships anchored in the harbour they saw some musket shots fired into the middle of a herd of buffaloes that were feeding on the shore, and were afterwards informed that orders had been given for two of the fattest to be killed in order to feed them. The Resident also sent a quantity of fruit to the officers as well as a few bottles of a very pleasant liquor extracted from the sago palm. This hospitable Dutchman was named Henry Coomans, and, like Hayes, Labillardière praises him. He writes: "He was a good honest man, remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and he was very much liked by the inhabitants."

Captain Hayes waited impatiently at Bouro for the return of his first officer, who got back on March 8th with the provisions, which we are told "were most thankfully received." Meanwhile the following letter of explanation was despatched from Bouro by Hayes to his old chief:—

"Bouro,
"March 10th, 1794.

"To Earl Cornwallis,

"Right Honble. Sir,

"This will inform you that a series of distress warrants were drawn upon you by me

while prosecuting discoveries for the general benefit and in particular for the British nation. I have been compelled to draw upon you for the amount of provisions supplied me by the Governor of Amboyna without your previous sanction. I was informed that I could have nothing without I could give bill upon the Hon. East India Company.

"I presumed to mention your name as security, which procured those necessaries that render life supportable as we had lived for six months upon rice and water only.

"I did not choose to throw myself on the generosity of the East India Company, although I have served them for twelve years without reproach, preferring your known humanity [1] . . . I have thus troubled your Lordship . . . to show you distress alone has compelled me to make such a demand.

"Yr. faithful servant,
"JOHN HAYES."

Lord Cornwallis was not called upon to meet the bills. At the close of the year John McCluer settled this debt for Hayes, who, however, as we shall see later on, had taken every precaution to insure payment for the stores when he arrived at Batavia.

With his provisions safely stowed on board, Hayes again put to sea, leaving Bouro on March 11th. He voyaged southwards towards Timor,

[1] The passages omitted contain a brief account of the voyage which has been described in preceding pages.

steering first to the island of Bouton, and eventually anchored in Coupang Roads on April 29th. The seamen of the *Duke of Clarence* were then suffering from scurvy, and it was possibly on this account that Hayes put into harbour. On his arrival several of the sick men were landed so that they might be properly attended to, and finally three of them were left behind. The English Commander was then forced to solicit the assistance of the Dutch authorities, from whom he asked for some European sailors to enable him to work his ship to her next port.

In May the Council at Timor sent a letter to the Supreme Government at Batavia explaining why this assistance was granted to Hayes. "Since the said Captain Hayes was most friendly disposed towards us and begged us, as he had lost many of his men through sickness during the long voyage (and because it was necessary to leave three of his seamen behind), to help him by allowing him five European sailors in order that he might continue his passage to Batavia, we lent him five seafaring men from the ship *Panltjallang d'Maria* (and enclose the list of names to your Excellencies) with a request to return the same to headquarters." [1]

On May 18th, having taken on board stores of wood and water, Captain Hayes left the harbour

[1] See Bydragen, Series IV., vol. i. Letters published by P. Leupe. The Supreme Government endorsed the action of the Council but were not well pleased about it, declaring that Hayes had not returned the men, and that he left Batavia without orders. No doubt they regarded him with suspicion.

of Coupang, hoping to make a fast voyage to Calcutta. He little foresaw the further troubles which were in store for him. Steering to Cape Sedano he passed through the Straits of Madura to Surabaya, a Dutch settlement on the east coast of Java.

Here, for the first time, he was fated to see the *Recherche* and the *Espérance.* Holland and France were at this time at war, and both the French ships, having fallen into the hands of the Dutch, were then flying the white flag of the French Monarchy. Admiral D'Entrecasteaux was dead, the illness which had attacked him in the Admiralty Islands early in the month of July having terminated fatally on the 21st, and Captain Dauribeau had succeeded him as commander of the expedition.

CHAPTER IX

THE VOYAGE TO CANTON

Hayes ordered to Canton—A botanist's report upon his spices—The *Duke of Clarence* is chased by a French privateer—Hayes reaches Canton and disposes of his cargo—He proceeds to Calcutta, December, 1794.

DURING his stay at Surabaya Hayes gained much information concerning the voyage accomplished by D'Entrecasteaux, before his frigates reached that port. But there is nothing in his letters to show that he was aware that the French Admiral had gathered the laurels he had hoped to win in Tasmania, and had preceded him off the coasts of New Caledonia and New Guinea. Various newspapers published in India after Hayes's return to Calcutta, however, state that he had seen the *Recherche* and *Espérance* lying dismantled at Surabaya, and contain other particulars which, in all probability, were derived from Hayes or his companions.

After a brief wait at this Dutch port, which is situated on the Java coast facing the island of Madura, the *Duke of Clarence* continued her voyage to Batavia, where she arrived on June 18th, finding the Bengal Squadron at anchor in the roads. It included, besides the *William Pitt*, flying the pennant of Commodore Mitchell, the

Britannia, Nonsuch, Houghton, and the *Nautilus* brig. Among the English merchant vessels there were the *Pigot, Queen Charlotte,* and the snow *Research.* In the Master's log of the *William Pitt* we read the following note: "P.M. Anchored the *Duke of Clarence,* Captain Hayes, from the East who saluted the pennant with nine guns, returned seven." The Commander of the *Britannia* makes a similar entry: "Arrived here the ship *Duke of Clarence* from New Caledonia; she saluted the Commodore with nine guns which was returned with seven."

Three months previously, on March 18th, Commodore Mitchell had left Fort Marlborough, off Bencoolen (Sumatra), in search of some French cruisers of whose presence in those waters he had been duly notified. His squadron had been fitted out for particular service by the Governor-General of Bengal. On leaving Bencoolen Mitchell sailed down the coast of Sumatra, passed through the Straits of Sunda without sighting any of the enemy, and then proceeded to Batavia in order to take on board some salt provisions. As the squadron was coming into port the *William Pitt* went aground but was soon afloat again, without sustaining serious damage. In consequence of this mishap, she was hove-to at Onrust [1] for necessary repairs, and while these were being executed the Commodore took the *Britannia* and *Nonsuch* for a short cruise, leaving the

[1] Onrust, an island at Batavia where the docks and shipping are situated.

Houghton, at the request of the Dutch Government, as guardship to the port. The presence of the British ship was desired because the Dutch frigate *Amazone* had been sent southwards to Japara to await the coming of the *Recherche* and *Espérance*, and, if possible, to seize them at this point of the coast. The knowledge that Dauribeau was coming to Java had therefore in some way preceded him. His ships did not get as far as Japara, but fell into the hands of the Dutch at Surabaya, and the *Amazone*, as well as the *Recherche* and *Espérance*, must have been in that port when Hayes anchored.

Commodore Mitchell had returned to Batavia before the arrival of the *Duke of Clarence*, and his presence there seems to have made a considerable difference to Captain Hayes. He was not allowed to continue his voyage to India, but "found himself under the necessity of proceeding to Canton." [1] Commodore Mitchell was probably unable to spare one of the ships of his squadron for this service, and was then on the point of returning to India himself. Passages to India were obtained for Captain Relph and Mr. Risdon on board a Bombay vessel which was preparing to sail in company with the squadron, and to Captain Relph were entrusted despatches for the

[1] In a letter to the Dutch agent at Macao (preserved in the Dutch Archives) Hayes does not admit that he came to Canton by Mitchell's orders, but upon business connected with the sale of his cargo, and probably the mission with which he was entrusted was a secret one, and he was not at liberty to give the real reason of his coming.

East India Company and for Hayes's partners. The opportunity to forward these may have slightly compensated him for the changes he had been compelled to make in his plans. Mr. Moore, late second in Council at Fort Marlborough, with his wife and family travelled to China as passengers in the *Duke of Clarence.*

While the *Duke of Clarence* was careening and being made ready for sea, Captain Hayes was not idle. He was able to write letters to his friends in India giving the reason for the delay in his home-coming. In the one to Sir John Shore, to which we have already alluded, he explained why he had drawn bills upon Lord Cornwallis, and asked for aid towards the formation of a settlement at Restoration Bay.

There was on board the *Research,* then in the harbour, Dr. Campbell, who, as well as acting as medical man at Bencoolen, was also the botanist in charge of the East India Company's spice gardens in Sumatra. Captain Hayes lost no time in showing him the specimens of the nutmeg which he had brought from New Guinea, as well as several other specimens of plants he had obtained. After examining them, Dr. Campbell sent Hayes the following letter :—

"To Captain Hayes,

"Commanding Officer of the *Duke of Clarence.*

"Dear Sir,

"According to my promise I have looked over some papers which I had accidentally

BATAVIA ROADS.

by me and examined the vegetable productions you put into my hands. The local inconveniences of situation on board ship render extreme accuracy impossible. The result, however, such as it is, I give you. I have added botanic names for the satisfaction of those scientific gentlemen to whom you may hereafter state the circumstances of your expedition.

"The round nutmeg (*Myristica moschata*)[1] which you gave me is the tree nut known over the East by the name of the Banda nutmeg—the trade of which the Dutch guard with so much jealousy; the mace is high flavoured and of the right colour. The whole nut is indeed excellent of its kind, and you need not allow any doubt to remain in your mind respecting its genuineness.

"The long nutmeg is a dwarf variety (*Myristica vicaria*, var.)[2] of the common Eastern species which is used chiefly on the Malay shore as a substitute for the true nutmeg. In Sumatra we scarce ever use any other, its odour is not so grateful as that of the Banda nutmeg, its mace being good for nothing; but the oil is in great abundance and might be extracted for the purposes of medicine. It has not yet been minutely investigated by botanists.

"I have in my last letter to Calcutta described it under the name of *Myristica vicaria*. The specimens received from you were indifferent,

[1] Now known as *Myristica fragrans*.

[2] This name (*Myristica vicaria*) given by Campbell was never published. The long nutmeg is called *Myristica fatua*.

perhaps from these having been ill cured. [Note in MS.—" They were not cured at all and only half grown, J. Hayes."]

" The Facquers Bead nut [1] is found and eaten all over the East. It is plentiful in the Deccan (*Eleocarpus serrata*, Linn.), but the best or most valued are brought from the Malay shore. It is called there Ganatri (*Ganitrus*, Rumph : Amboin, vol. 3, p. 160). They are esteemed in proportion to their smallness. Those which are rather larger than a pea and prettily indented are precious, but in general I do not think that they can become a very valuable article of trade.

" The Mesowi Bark I cannot ascertain with accuracy, but think it is the Sassafras from your description of the leaf. I am convinced that it is a species of laurel if not specifically the sassafras (*Laurus sassafras*, Linn. ?), it must be very nearly allied to it.[2] It is a very pleasing high flavoured aromatic and very far surpasses the bark of the tree called by the Malays Cayoo Gaddees, which Marsden in his 'History of Sumatra' supposes to be the Sassafras, but I believe erroneously. Of what value the Mesowi Bark may be in the commerce of the East I am

[1] Hayes described this nut as " a fruit resembling the damson which grew on Lady Fletcher's Isle."

[2] Pinkerton writes of it thus : " *Laurus sassafras* (differs from the Sassafras of America) yields the costly 'coelitawang.' Coelitawang is the Amboynese name of the tree and signifies clove bark. It is of greyish cast and when dried becomes rough and shrivelled ; it is red within and near the root of the tree has a strong clove smell and taste." See " History of the Asiatic Islands."

ignorant, having never met with it before. There is a laurel which grows on the Malabar coast the bark of which is described by the writers I have seen on the subject under the name of the bastard Canella or Carrella; it sells at a considerable price, but I have never met with it nor do I know the degree of its affinity to the Mesowi. Of the value of the clove bark (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*, Linn.) I am equally uninformed.

"The seeds which you have called the Medical Beetle nut are the fruit of one of the most useful palms that are found in the Eastern Archipelago, it is known by the name of Gomuto anon and Sagua. In the Isle of France it is called Le Latanier rouge [1] (or Lontard of the Indies). I never heard that the seeds were put to any use excepting that the Chinese preserve them when young with sugar. This palm has been confounded by botanists with some others of a very different character. I have assigned it to its proper place under the name prefixed: the palm tree from which you had the nuts forms a slight variety. I forget whether you mentioned any purposes to which it is applied in New Guinea.

"This, sir, compleats the little information I am able to communicate, if any further circumstances

[1] "The Latanier or Lontard of the Indies (*Latania Commersonii*, Gmel.) rises 42 feet in height," says Sonnerat; "its head is crowned by ten or twelve leaves in the form of a fan twenty-two feet high supported by stalks six or seven feet long. The leaves are oblong, their substance being firm and tough, which makes them better coverings for the native houses than the common cocoa trees."

shall occur which you may wish to enquire into, command me. I am only sorry that in an expedition which promises to be so advantageous to our settlements in the East you had no person with you who could have assisted your researches in countries which must have afforded very ample opportunities to the naturalist.

" With my best wishes,
" I am, dear Sir,
" Yr. obedient servant,
" CHARLES CAMPBELL.

" Snow *Research*,
" Batavia Roads,
" June 24th, 1794."

Dr. Campbell's report greatly pleased Hayes. After he had seen Campbell he wrote again to Sir John Shore, Governor-General in Council of the East India Company, informing him of his discoveries. His letter states that Captain Relph was about to sail for Calcutta in order that he might explain in person to the Honourable Company and to Lord Cornwallis the circumstances which had compelled Hayes to draw bills upon the latter. The concluding pages contain the following request :—

" I hope that you will settle the same with the Dutch Government and you will lay me under the greatest obligation to you. I trust . . . the discoveries [1] I have made and have submitted to your wisdom will not be the less acceptable coming

[1] Hayes had previously described his exploration of New Guinea, and told of having formed a settlement in that country.

from one not employed at public expense, or upheld by any patron. It cannot be conceived that I have any other motive in view but the welfare of my country, having earned the whole at the expense of my health and fortune. I most sincerely implore your attention to the country I have taken possession of on behalf of the King and nation of Great Britain, and to the situation of those I have left behind at Restoration Bay, in case any accident should prevent me from relieving them.

"I am not much known at Calcutta, but conceive that my want of friends there will be no reason why I should not be heard, or that some public measure should not be founded on the report of a disinterested individual. General Sir Robert Abercromby has some knowledge of me, and will condescend to speak of me as he thinks I may deserve, should you deem such a reference necessary.

"With due respect,
"I have the honour to remain,
"Yr. faithful servant,
"JOHN HAYES.

"*Duke of Clarence,*
"Batavia, June 23rd, 1794."

Hayes evidently had some misgiving as to the Company's approval of the steps he had taken to obtain supplies for his starving crews. But neither in the official correspondence nor in his private letters do we find that he was in any way

taken to task by the East India Company, or by Lord Cornwallis for his action.

It is possible that the change in his plans, enforced by Commodore Mitchell, did Hayes no harm, as the French privateers were then displaying great activity on the main sea routes to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and if in consequence of its special mission Mitchell's fleet had been compelled to leave the *Duke of Clarence* to make the voyage to Calcutta alone, Hayes might have found himself a prisoner in the hands of the French. The risks in travelling northwards to Canton, if slightly less, were still considerable. Hayes, however, must have derived some consolation from the reflection that if once he could make the port, he would be able to get rid of his valuable cargo in the Chinese markets at even higher rates than could be obtained for it in India. The log of the *William Pitt* contains the following notification (dated June 25th, 1794) of his departure from Batavia: "At 7 p.m. weighed with light breezes, as did the whole fleet in company with the *Royal Charlotte*,[1] a country ship for Bombay, and the *Duke of Clarence* for China."

The fleet soon separated from the *Duke of Clarence*. She steered northwards, directing her course through the Straits of Gaspar which divide the islands of Banka and Billiton, lying off the coast of Sumatra. No sooner had she

[1] Probably the vessel on board which Relph and Risdon were conveyed to India.

reached the straits than she was sighted by a French privateer. It was no easy task to elude these vessels, for they were armed and fitted out regardless of expense, in addition to being the swiftest ships then afloat.

The privateer lay in hiding behind Tree Island, a small island near the entrance of the straits, and was within three miles of the *Duke of Clarence* when first seen by Hayes.

Full of dash, the Frenchman, which carried eighteen guns, bore down upon the English vessel and continued the chase for three hours through the straits. But Hayes was no ordinary seaman. Months of manœuvring along strange coasts, while threading his way through the coral meshes of the Louisiades, had taught him many a lesson in the art of seamanship, which made him more than a match for the French commander. When the straits became narrower and the navigation more confined he drew away farther and farther from the enemy, and was able to escape. A Dutch East Indiaman, named *Vyldte* or *Vlydte*, was not so fortunate. She was captured in endeavouring to steer the same passage.

Of his stay at Canton Hayes tells us little. We learn, however, that he sold there the greater portion of his cargo, including missoy bark, which always brought a high price in China, and then fetched from 30 to 60 dollars the picul; he also disposed of clove bark and various New Guinea products which were esteemed delicacies by the Chinese. There were a number of East India

merchantmen in port when he arrived, including the *King George, Ocean, Middlesex, Albion,* and *Taunton Castle.*

Hayes left Canton on October 18th to continue his voyage to India. As he was on the point of leaving the harbour of Macao his old friend and brother officer, John McCluer, arrived in a small open boat from the Pelew Islands, having accomplished an extraordinary voyage without charts, and for the most part in a heavy sea. At the last moment Hayes had an interview with McCluer, whom he informed that he had established a settlement in New Guinea, and asked him, if it were possible, to take some provisions to those left behind there. To this request McCluer, who was intending to return again to the Pelew Islands, assented.

On his route from Canton to India, Hayes does not appear to have come in contact with any French cruisers, but when sailing through the Straits of Malacca he encountered the *Bombay* frigate, which was proceeding eastwards and giving convoy to two British Indiamen, the *Boddam* and the *Lord Macartney.* He determined to call at Pulo Penang, where he arrived on November 9th. It must have been a relief to him to find there the ship *Boddington,* and the Honourable Company's cruiser *Swift,* in command of Captain Hardie, under whom he had served at different times.

After a brief stay of barely two days, he left the port in company with these vessels, the cruiser being bound for Anjengo.

On Friday, December 5th, the *Duke of Clarence*, to the joy of all on board, arrived at Calcutta and dropped anchor in the Ganges, having completed a voyage of twenty-two months' duration.

CHAPTER X

HAYES AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Hayes's petitions presented—Recognition of the colony of New Albion refused—Hayes's endeavours to publish the story of his voyage—He fails to secure support—The subsequent disappearance of his journal—Its possible fate—1795.

THE safe return of Captain Relph and Mr. Risdon, who had arrived at Calcutta in the previous August, was the source of much congratulation to Hayes's friends there, for no news of him had been received since his departure, and the long silence had caused them great anxiety.

Captain Relph lost no time in presenting the despatches entrusted to his care by his chief. Of these the most important was Captain Hayes's petition to the East India Company praying that the Honourable Company would extend its protection to the infant colony, that it would further the objects of discovery, and that it would indemnify the promoters of the expedition for the expenses incurred by them in connection with the voyage. A similar petition from the two merchants, Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, was also sent to the East India Company.

The signature of Mr. Udney, one of the three original merchant-promoters, is absent from this document. Probably he was then no longer alive,

for we find the death of a Mr. Udney recorded as having taken place at Calcutta in 1794, while he and his wife were attempting to cross the river. The fact that a friend who accompanied them and was saved, was named Laprimaudaye, makes it appear likely that the deceased was no other than Hayes's partner.

The petitions were duly laid before the Council at a meeting held on November 7th. There were present at it, Sir John Shore, Governor in Council, Mr. Peter Speke, and Mr. William Cowper. In addition to the petitions, charts were also submitted showing the situation of New Albion, of Restoration Bay, and of the small adjacent islands, together with minute descriptions of the products of New Guinea in order to show the riches of the country.

Among the papers relating to the native plants was included the letter written by Dr. Campbell at Batavia, the petitioners dwelling strongly on the fact that he had pronounced a nutmeg shown to him by Hayes to be the true nutmeg. Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye's rather peculiarly worded address ends thus—

"We cannot refrain from observing its (Restoration Bay) centrical situation, and how conveniently for the ships bringing out stores to Botany Bay, which may proceed direct through Castrell's or Hayes's Straits, both equally safe and free from danger, refresh and load with the rich products of Restoration Bay, and take them to China,

where a ship may go from thence in either monsoon in twenty to twenty-five days. Ships bound to India from Port Jackson could pursue the same route, being far more eligible than going through the dangerous strait called by Captain Cook Providential Channel, where in the best weather they are liable to be totally lost.

"We conclude by praying your attention to the good fellows left behind (in New Guinea) in the event of your judging it expedient to follow up the advantages gained. They were promised relief by the end of the year, now near at hand. A ship leaving this in November or up to the middle of December would to a certainty reach them in four or five weeks, but if longer delayed would be open to the sad disappointment of being obliged to round New Holland. . . .

"We remain, with great respect,

"Yr. very obedient servants,

"JAMES FRUSHARD,

"STEPHEN LAPRIMAUDAYE.

"October 21st, 1794."

To this letter was attached the following list of productions of New Albion, as reported by Captain Hayes.

PRODUCTS OF NEW ALBION.

Round nutmeg	*Timber:*	Seven kinds of Birds of Paradise
Long nutmeg	Iron Wood	Wild Hog
Mace	Fatty Wood	Small Turtle
Clove Bark	Honduras	Large Turtle
Massoy bark	Log Wood	Tortoiseshell

Dammer in great plenty
Dye roots beetle nut

Fruits
Mangoes
Pines
Citrons, Oranges and Lemons
Rose Apples
Jambo
Bread Fruit
Plantains
Cocoanuts

Fish, various
Yams
Catchou root
Radishes and Potatoes
Cotton and Bees wax

On Lady Fletcher's Island:
Red Yams, French beans, Onions } Planted by the ships' co. and came to great perfection
Sago
Figs of two kinds
Raspberry
Facquer Bread-nut, a fruit resembling the damson
Large yellow fruit very wholesome and preferred to all others.

After drawing attention to the various other documents that had been presented to him, Sir John Shore addressed the Council. In his speech, recorded in the Minutes of the East India Company, there is an able argument for and against the desirability of taking over the New Guinea Settlement.

Sir John made the following observations:—

"The address from Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, dated 31st ultimo recorded on the 7th instant on the subject of a voyage to New Guinea, and stating supposed discoveries of a valuable nature, remains for consideration. In addition to it I lay before the Council a letter from Mr. J. Hayes, who commanded the ships employed on the voyage, with several papers which accompanied it. In these papers the Board have before them the description of a tract of country in the Eastern Seas, held forth as an object of great

commercial importance to the Company and to the nation.

"The situation and extent of it are from latitude 00° 21′ S. and longitude 131° 6′ 8″ E. from Greenwich to 10° 39′ S. longitude, and 154° 24′ 20″ E. longitude, embracing the eastern coast of New Guinea with the small islands adjacent thereto. The climate, soil, produce, harbours, and the disposition of the inhabitants are represented in a most favourable light, and the nutmeg tree both male and female with the missoy and clove bark forming valuable articles of trade to the Chinese markets, grow, it is said, and may be procured here in great abundance.

"The expedition was proposed by two private merchants who are subscribers to it, and the execution of it was committed to Captain Hayes of the Bombay Marine.

"The Board will observe that he considers the harbour of New Guinea which he has employed, and the existence of spices there, as new discoveries, without knowing that the spot, as I shall more particularly notice hereafter, was visited by Captain Thomas Forrest, and the island by Monsieur Sonnerat.

"Captain Hayes has formally taken possession of the harbour, and has left several Europeans in charge of it. The merchants, at whose expense this expedition was principally undertaken, have applied to us for assistance in promoting its objects and for an indemnification and reward equivalent to the expense and importance of the supposed discoveries.

"It is our duty, without being biassed, to consider fully and impartially the advantages set forth in their account of it before we give or refuse our concurrence and assistance in making any establishment so far removed from other settlements of the Company. We ought to be well assured that the benefits attending such an establishment are sufficiently probable to justify a well-grounded expectation of their realisation and that when realised they will more than compensate for the expense of the undertaking . . . but above all it is our duty to ascertain from the records the sentiments of our superiors on this subject so far as they may be collected.

"I shall proceed first with a very brief account of the voyage of Captain T. Forrest to the very spot described by Captain Hayes under the name of Restoration Bay in New Guinea, or, as he chooses to call it, New Albion.

"In October, 1774, in consequence of information given by an inhabitant of the Moluccas named Ismail Tuan Hagee that spices were produced in New Guinea and other islands independent of the Dutch, the Chief and Collector of Balambangan (Mr. Herbert) employed Captain Forrest to undertake a voyage of discovery in a small Soolva prow [1] in company with Tuan Hagee with a view of ascertaining the truth of his representations and in making researches into what they deemed an object of the first magnitude.

[1] The *Tartar* galley of only ten tons.

"Captain Forrest accordingly sailed from Balambangan on the 9th November, 1774, and as it appears in the published account of his voyage [1] after touching at Soloo Tonkyl, Bally Tomaguy, Waygiou, and other islands, anchored in Dorey Bay on the N.E. coast of New Guinea, and undoubtedly the same as that now called Restoration Bay, on the 27th January, 1775, being a voyage of more than two months and a half, but lengthened by bad weather and various causes of detention at different islands.

"Captain Forrest remained at New Guinea till the 18th of February, visiting Maasingham Harbour lately called Princess Royal's Harbour, to the southward of Dorey Bay, and the adjacent islands of Manaswary and Maspmapy which have recently been dominated King and Queen's Island. He describes the Papuas and natives of the country as having kept up an amicable intercourse with him after satisfying themselves that he had no hostile intention. He had, however, no communication with the Haraforas, *i.e.* inhabitants of the inland parts of the island, who, it is said, subsist by agriculture and barter the produce of their land with the Papuas for iron implements, and drive them sometimes from their habitations. . . ."

Sir John then remarked that Forrest had found the nutmeg growing upon Manaswary, or King George's Island, and described to the Council how, having placed Hayes's maps and charts side by

[1] "A Voyage to New Guinea," by Thomas Forrest, published in London in 1779.

side with those made by Forrest, he had come to the conclusion that Dorey Bay was undoubtedly the same as that which Hayes had called Restoration Bay.

In continuing his speech, Sir John expressed his opinion very decidedly regarding the actual position of the place which Hayes had visited.

"No doubt can possibly remain after comparing Captain Forrest's map of Dorey Harbour with that of Captain Hayes as to the identity of the spot visited by both.

"The latitude and longitude assigned to the spot by the two navigators differ, but the form of the bay, the coast, headlands, islands, and inlets as described by Captain Hayes all prove indisputably that they were at the same place . . . The situation of the harbour (Restoration Bay) is said to be convenient for ships carrying supplies to Port Jackson from whence they might proceed direct by a safe passage to New Guinea, and convey the products of that island to China. . . . These circumstances are certainly favourable to the establishment of a settlement, but the question which ought to precede all others is whether any adequate utility would be derived from it, . . . Captain Hayes saw no round nutmegs in the interior parts near Restoration Bay, exceeding the height of eight feet, but the trees producing the long nuts are described as the tallest kind of forest trees. The former he conceives to be the true nut, but if so, is there not ground for suspicion that they are either the dwarf species, or imperfect for want of

cultivation. . . . Monsieur Sonnerat describes the true nutmeg as attaining the height of thirty feet, and he is too accurate an observer and botanist to be mistaken. . . . The specimens brought to me are of one sort only, they were gathered in a state of half maturity, and no decisive opinion can be formed of them. . . . I requested Dr. Roxburgh's opinion on both the nutmegs and the mace, and subscribe it in his own terms : ' The nutmegs and mace I have compared with all the drawings and descriptions of various kinds in my possession, and I think they are the fourth sort mentioned by M. Sonnerat on his voyage to New Guinea. . . .' If so the same nutmegs have long been carried to the various markets over the continent of Asia. . . . Dr. Campbell states the round to be the true nut known over the East by the name of Banda, and the long to be a dwarf variety of the common Eastern nutmeg which is used chiefly on the Malay shore as a substitute for the true nutmeg. I lay before the Board a translation of Monsieur Sonnerat's description of the nutmeg with that of Captain Hayes. The latter is positive in his assertion that he saw perfectly round nutmegs at Restoration Bay, and Dr. Campbell's opinion formed on the fruit is also decisive. The nuts brought here have an imperfect resemblance with the common nutmeg in shape.

" I don't see that the possession of a settlement at Restoration Bay would essentially promote the commercial interests of the Nation and of the Company. . . . That in these respects some

advantages might ensue is probable, and some of the objects might be realised by encouraging Chinese settlers to form a colony there, but the protection of the infant colony would require a considerable military establishment, and after all, unless we were certain of some returns for the market of Europe, the balance would be finally against the Company. Neither do we at present know sufficient of the disposition of the inhabitants of the interior parts of the island and how far they would countenance or oppose a settlement. It is certain that the advantages derived by the Dutch from their spice trade would diminish in proportion to the augmentation of our profits . . . the wisdom of the policy which would produce this effect is to me doubtful, and I cannot recommend any attempt towards it.

"I do not find from a cursory inspection of the treaties between the Dutch and English or from any documents which I have seen . . . that we are precluded from making a settlement in New Guinea, which appears some degrees to the eastward of any Dutch settlement. By a treaty concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the States General in May, 1784, the States General of the United Provinces promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of British subjects to the eastern seas. But considering all the circumstances, the distance of the spot from this Government, the difficulty of protecting it in time of war and of furnishing it with supplies at all times, the situation of affairs in Europe, the certainty of considerable expense at the outset, and

the probable continuance of it for a long time, I am of opinion that we should not be justified in complying with the requests of Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye by prosecuting the establishment of a settlement at New Guinea on the Company's account."

The Council's decision was made known to the merchants in a very brief reply, although more than one conference took place between the members of the Council in which the merits of Hayes's scheme were discussed. The letter runs—

"Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 31st of last month, concerning a voyage undertaken by Captain Hayes under your direction to the coast of New Guinea in the ships *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*. The Governor General in Council instructs me to acquaint you that he is precluded from giving authority or taking any part with respect to the establishment which Captain Hayes has made, by positive orders from the Company prohibiting new settlement to the eastward.

"I am, Gentlemen, etc.,

"Your most obedient servant,

"E. HAY,

"*Secretary to the Governor.*

"Council Chamber,

"November 28th, 1794."

The orders did not prevent Sir John Shore from

making a very thorough investigation into what Hayes had seen and done. At first the Governor was disposed to interest himself in the settlement, for in a letter to the Council he writes—"On a first view of the subject from a general recollection of the attempts of the Company to obtain a participation in the spice trade, with the Dutch, and before I had seen the orders of the Honourable Court, I was inclined to favour the proposed establishment. My present opinion is the result of further reflection and inquiry."

Forrest, like Hayes, was in the East India Company's service. Unlike Hayes, however, he travelled to New Guinea in the capacity of a servant of the Company. His voyage, therefore, robbed Hayes of his chance of gaining the recognition of the East India Company for his achievements, though it is interesting that the two men who best deserve the title of English Pioneers of New Guinea, should both have anchored in Dorey Bay.

The final decision of the Governor and Council not to take over the New Guinea establishment, although a severe disappointment to Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, was a much greater one to Captain Hayes. He had successfully accomplished the voyage whose responsibilities and privations had injured his health, only to find that the return he coveted most was denied to him. For even if he had gained the experience which helped him in his later career, at this time his adventures must have seemed to him to have ended in failure.

We are told that it was profitable to the speculators who had financed it, but no monetary reward could have compensated Hayes for the lack of recognition as a discoverer.

Throughout, the commercial side of his enterprise does not seem to have appealed to him in anything like the same degree as those higher ambitions which have inspired every great navigator since the days of Prince Henry of Portugal. As far as his explorations in the Pacific are concerned, few navigators have accomplished so much and been honoured so little.

That Hayes's journal was never published is a matter of concern to us, even in these days, for in some respects it would have been unique. It would have contained the earliest account of the inland parts of Tasmania, and told how a European ship was first steered through the Great Barrier Reef on New Caledonia's western side. It would also have presented a different aspect of the Louisiade Archipelago from that given us by French voyagers, as well as the first account of the Rossel Islanders. Finally, it would have given the world more useful information about New Guinea than reached Europe for fully half a century afterwards.

After his return to India Hayes solicited the Company's assistance to enable him to meet the costs of publishing his travels, as he could not afford to do it himself, although he went so far as to advertise the book in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In the issue of that paper, dated February 5th, 1795,

is the following announcement:—"A voyage to New Guinea is preparing for the press in Calcutta. It will contain twenty-two charts and plans of the discoveries made by the British expedition composed of the ships *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* during a voyage to that part under the command of Captain John Hayes, who has lately returned to this part in the *Duke of Clarence*. Captain Hayes sailed from Calcutta on the 6th February, 1793, and returned on the 6th December, 1794, making in all a voyage of twenty-two months."

In spite of this announcement the story of the voyage never appeared, and six weeks later we find Captain Hayes once again asking for assistance to publish it. A copy of the letter which he wrote is preserved at the India Office. It was addressed to Sir John Shore, Governor General in Council, and runs as follows:—

"Calcutta,
"March 22nd, 1795.

"HON. SIR,

"Actuated solely by motives of respect to my Honourable Employers and to the Public in General I now presume to solicit such support as may be correspondent with the intentions of the Honourable Court of Directors of your Honourable Board in respect to publications that are calculated to throw light upon many subjects that have hitherto remained in the dark owing to want of investigation. I trust in particular that the survey of the south extremity of Van Diemen's

Land,' which has met with your approbation, will be of as much future national importance as it must be of satisfaction to all navigators bound to Port Jackson. The whole of my route from thence to Restoration Bay will also be valuable to the commanders of the Hon. Co.'s ships bound from New South Wales to Canton as a safe and expedient line is traced for their guidance and to centinal ports whereat they can acquire wood, water and provender at a little expense and without risk or molestation. I am therefore induced to hope you will extend such support and encouragement on behalf of the Hon. Co. of Directors as may be consistent with their general patronage of works of public utility by subscribing for such a number of copies as you may deem necessary. It will otherwise I imagine be out of my power to go through with it as private support generally rests with the public, no one wishing to notice a publication, however interesting, unless it is upheld by the Government.

"I remain,
"With due respects,
"Yrs, JOHN HAYES."

The substance of the reply to this letter is to be found [1] in the following memorandum written by Mr. Hay, Secretary to the Governor-General :—

"Read again Captain Hayes's letter recorded in the proceedings of the 23rd inst. Agreed that

[1] In a volume of the records of the East India Company, Fort William, 1796.

30 copies be taken upon account of the Company of the publication advised in that letter and ordered that Captain Hayes be acquainted accordingly."

There seems very little doubt that the inadequacy of the support which Hayes was able to obtain from the Company and from the Indian public prevented him from publishing his journal. Consequently posterity has been deprived of it. The manuscripts themselves seem to have been lost, though when and in what manner it is impossible to say definitely. Lieutenant Low, in his "History of the Indian Navy," says that "the ship taking home Lieutenant Hayes's manuscripts, charts and memoirs was captured by a French man-of-war," and also states that "Hayes's charts and memoirs were taken to Paris, where, we are informed by a relative, they were seen in a public institution by a British officer soon after the Peace."

The above remarks, if correct, must refer to the capture of the journal on its way home from India to England, as we know that Hayes's ship safely reached Calcutta from Canton, and that he was prepared to proceed with the publication in India provided that he could obtain the necessary funds. If the journal was ever known to be in existence in France at a more recent date, it is strange that no geographical society, or person interested in exploration, has lighted upon it and intervened to rescue it from oblivion, or has indeed ever heard of its existence. If, on the other hand, it remained in India, it probably passed into the possession of his

son, Captain Fletcher Hayes, Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence, who was killed in the Indian Mutiny. In this case it may have perished with that officer's belongings in the Residency, Lucknow.

Colonel Crawford,[1] writing about the fate of the MSS. in "Bengal, Past and Present" (Vol. V. 1910), mentions a probability that "they may still exist in the Marine Records at Bombay."

Whether Hayes's journal really does lie hidden away somewhere in France, or in India, or whether it perished at Lucknow, we can only regard its absence from the place that it should fill among the records of the world's great voyages, as a public misfortune.

[1] Lieutenant Colonel D. J. Crawford, I.M.S., a great-grandson of Sir J. Hayes.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER XI

COURT, LANDER, AND McCLUER AT RESTORATION BAY

Captain Court at Restoration Bay—McCluer brings supplies—His timely assistance—Risdon arrives in the *Duke of Clarence*—Nooko, Sultan of Tidore—His dealings with the British officers—They visit Wauroo and Geby with Nooko—Risdon goes to Calcutta and returns—Lander commands the *Duchess*—The end of the *Duchess*—Risdon's services on board the *Duke of Clarence*—Lander's death—The end of the *Duke of Clarence*.

AFTER Hayes had left Dorey, the fortunes of the colonists gradually drifted from bad to worse. Had Hayes remained there a little longer, indeed, he might have modified the glowing language in which his petition painted the natural advantages of the country. Each day the store of provisions dwindled, and as the rainy season set in the climate grew less healthy, while Court's responsibilities increased. Several of his people died. To add to his anxieties, shortly after Hayes's departure, part of the garrison was attacked by natives in the Papuan quarter, and some of those taken prisoners were sent to Ceram, where they were sold as slaves. The captives were mostly Papuans in Court's employment, but with them went two Sepoys, who afterwards gave an account of their stay at Dorey to the Dutch authorities,[1]

[1] A. Haga, "Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea."

which was preserved among the Dutch records at Batavia, and to which reference will be made later.

It will be remembered that Hayes had left only thirteen Europeans and eleven Lascars and Sepoys with Court, so that the loss even of a single man was a very serious matter. The little band of seamen, however, showed splendid resolution under the difficulties with which they were confronted, and continued to work daily at the factory in order to collect a sufficient cargo for the ship which was expected from India. Their patience was destined to be sorely tried. Days lengthened to weeks, and weeks to months, and a year passed without any sign of the coming of an English ship.

A Dutch historian [1] states that in April or May, 1794, two Galelareezen, Rato and Oese, sailed to Papua, arriving at Dorey four months later (in August or September). They found there a wooden blockhouse armed with five cannon, but without a garrison. In the roads they saw an English barque which flew a red silken flag at the stern and a yellow one at the bow. There were only two Europeans on board, the remainder of the crew being natives. If the details given by Dutch writers are correct, Rato and Oese were the first visitors who came to the English settlement ; but Court's chief officer, Robert Lander, from whom we glean most of our information, makes no mention of their visit. The delay in the arrival of the promised assistance from India was of course due to the change that Hayes had been forced to make

[1] A. Haga, "Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea."

in his plans, and doubtless the fate of those left behind in New Guinea caused him great anxiety.

The first English vessel to anchor in Restoration Bay after the *Duke of Clarence* had left there, was the *Venus* barque, Captain John McCluer, last from the Pelew Islands. As McCluer's name figures prominently in the history of Hayes's Settlement, some account of him and the reason for his coming to Dorey must be given. Hayes arrived at Macao from Batavia on July 20th, 1794. Here these two men, so closely connected with the English settlement in New Guinea, met each other.[1]

McCluer[2] had sailed from Bombay in 1790 in command of two vessels belonging to the Indian Government. They were the *Panther* and the *Endeavour*, the latter in charge of Lieutenant Wedgeborough. McCluer had been ordered to report to the King of the Pelew Islands the death of his son, Prince Lee Boo.[3] Before he left India, McCluer had also been instructed to survey the coast of New Guinea, and to ascertain whether "there was a navigable passage to the north-east of the Aroe Islands which might be suitable in the contrary winds (monsoons ?) or even in times of war for our China ships." He was engaged on this survey from February until December, 1791. He also explored and charted the long indentation in

[1] A. Haga, "Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea."

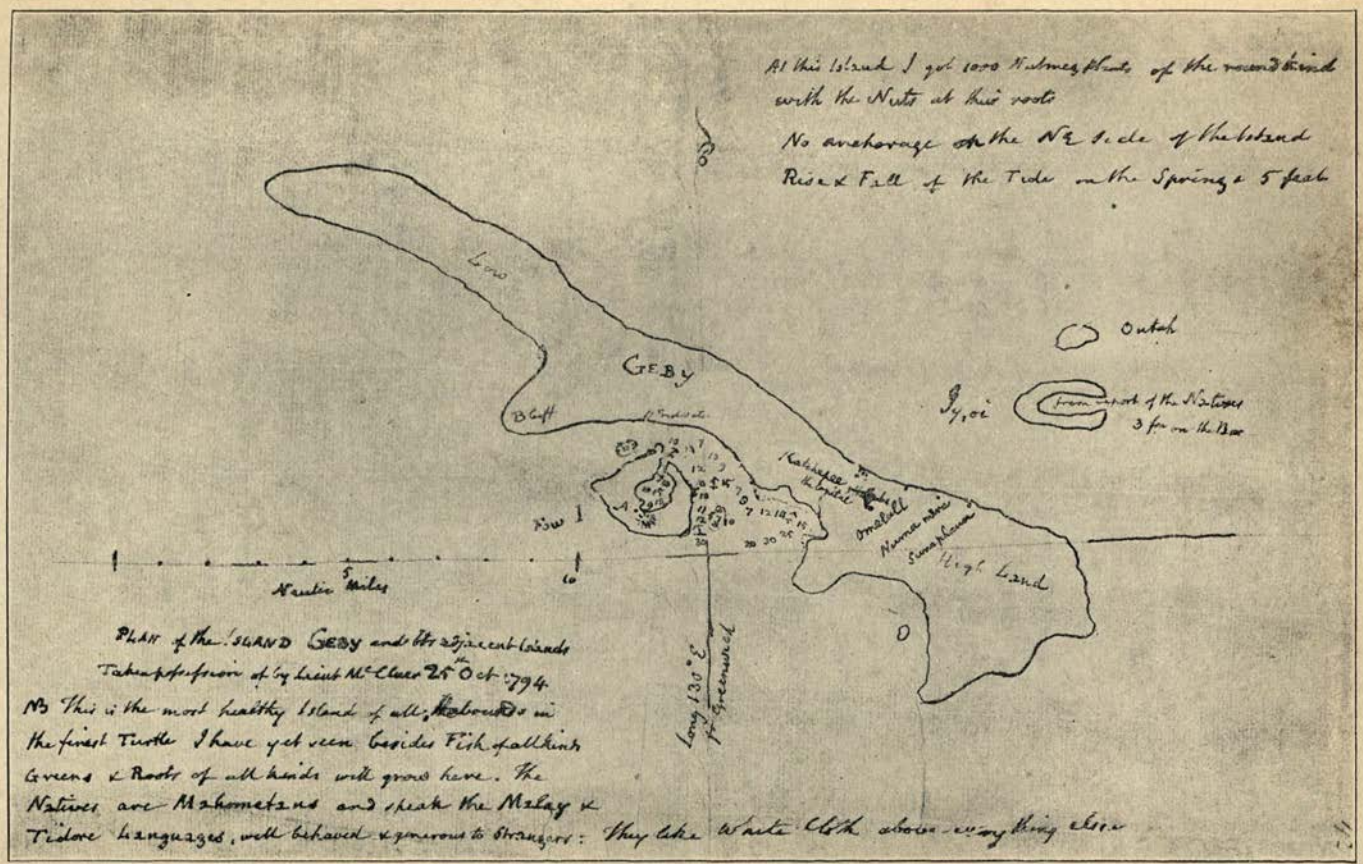
[2] See Chapter II.

[3] The Prince had been taken to England, where he died of smallpox in 1784. See Keate's "History of the Pelew Islands."

New Guinea, known as McCluer Inlet. When the *Panther* returned to the Pelew Islands, McCluer acted in an extraordinary way. Resigning his command of the *Panther* on February 2nd, 1793, to Lieutenant Wedgeborough, he announced his intention of remaining in the islands. There he lived for fifteen months with the natives. Then, it is said, he became discontented because they would not always carry out his wishes, and fitting up an open boat, he set out in company with six Malays for China, arriving safely in Macao after a voyage of nineteen days.

When his health was restored, after the hardships inseparable from such an adventure, he bought a ship, intending to return to the Pelew Islands in order to fetch away his family. Just as he was on the point of leaving Macao Captain Hayes arrived from Batavia, and when McCluer heard that the colony founded by his brother officer in New Guinea was sorely in need of provisions, he generously undertook to go to its relief. Certainly no one knew the way to those waters better than he.[1] He left Macao on July 24th, 1794, for Manilla, and thence sailed to the Pelew Islands, where he took on board his family and some natives who wished to make a voyage. He then shaped his course towards Restoration Bay,

[1] Dutch writers have stated that Hayes persuaded McCluer that Dorey was not far out of his way. In this they were mistaken, as McCluer had lately explored the coast of New Guinea, and although he did not visit Dorey his maps show that he knew of its situation.


At this Island I got 1000 Nutmeg Trees of the round kind with the Nuts at their roots
No anchorage on the N.E. side of the Island
Rise & Fall of the Tide on the Springs 5 feet
GEBY
Outch
From each of the Natives 3 for on the Bar
Nautic Miles
High Land
Long 130° E. from Greenwich
PLAN of the ISLAND GEBY and the adjacent Islands Taken by survey of by Lieut. McCluer 25th Oct. 1794
NB This is the most healthy Island of all the Moluccas & in the finest Turtle I have yet seen. Besides Fish of all kinds Greens & Roots of all kinds with grow here. The Natives are Mahometans and speak the Malay & Tidore languages, well behaved & generous to Strangers: they like White Cloth above everything else

PLAN OF GEBY ISLAND (DRAWN BY JOHN McCLUER).

[*From the original chart preserved at the British Museum.*

finding Hayes's colonists in a miserable plight. Several had died, and fourteen were so weakened by illness that they were quite dependent on the kindness of the Papuans.

The ship *Duchess*, condemned by Captain Hayes, was unable to put to sea for want of proper equipment, which McCluer could not supply. Therefore, in November, soon after his arrival, McCluer, at Court's request, went to Bouro, where he obtained the necessary gear and supplies. For these he paid, as though they were for his own use. He also settled the account which his friend, Captain Hayes, had been forced to leave unpaid, and for which he had drawn bills upon Lord Cornwallis. McCluer then sold some commodities (described elsewhere as a case of beads or native produce) to Arie Coomans, the Dutch Resident, who gave him bills for them, which were to be paid in three months' time, when McCluer hoped to return to Bouro. Unfortunately for McCluer, these bills were never met.

McCluer then left Restoration Bay. On the voyage his ship, the *Venus*, sprang a leak, and he was obliged to call at Gedy (Geby), where he remained for twenty days. The Dutch fix the date of this visit to Geby at the beginning of 1795. If this is correct, it is clear that McCluer must have called twice at Geby Island. He first anchored there during his voyage from the Pelew Islands to Restoration Bay, when he hoisted the British flag on October 25th, 1794, and took possession of the island in the name

of King George III. A chart of Geby, drawn by McCluer during this visit and afterwards presented to Alexander Dalrymple, is reproduced.[1] From Geby McCluer returned again to Dorey, when the *Duchess* was repaired at once and made ready for sea, but she was still in Restoration Bay when McCluer left there for the second time.[2]

John McCluer gives March 20th, 1795,[3] as the date of his departure from New Guinea on this occasion. The English ship *Success* [4] also reported at Calcutta that the *Venus* barque, Captain McCluer, spoke "the ship *Helen*, Captain Seton, from Bombay bound to China, in latitude 3° S. and longitude 132° E., all on board well." The *Venus* informed the Commander of the *Helen* that she had left Restoration Bay on March 20th, 1795, and that up to the time of her arrival the colony had received no supplies.

McCluer's coming seems to have set the starving colonists on their feet again: and doubtless he did all in his power to render the *Duchess* seaworthy before he finally said good-bye to his countrymen.

About two months later Captain Risdon arrived

[1] The original is in the British Museum, and it appears to be one of the very few of this enterprising seaman's drawings still in existence.

[2] "Therefore," says Haga, "she could not have been wrecked on January 31st, 1795, as was rumoured at Banda."—"Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea."

In "Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers," vol. i. p. 273, we read that the *Duchess* embarked the colonists before McCluer left—this is a mistake.

[3] Letter preserved in the Dutch Archives.

[4] *Madras Courier*, June 17, 1795.

at Dorey from India in the *Duke of Clarence,* having taken command of that ship in December, 1794, after Hayes had left her. As soon as the unloading of her cargo at Calcutta had been completed, she had been provisioned and had sailed almost immediately to carry the promised relief to the New Guinea settlement. Risdon was placed in command of her because the period of leave granted to Hayes had expired, and he was compelled to hold himself in readiness to rejoin the Bombay Marine. But Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye were still her owners. As the *Duke of Clarence* was leaving Calcutta [1] she parted from her anchors off the new fort and drifted ashore near the water gate. Fortunately, the ground proving soft and the weather moderate, she was got off without danger and continued her passage to Fort Coronation.

There appears to be no record of the exact date of Risdon's coming to New Guinea, but it was probably in May, 1795. He put into various ports on his outward voyage, but before he returned to India the Dutch were at war with England.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Tidore, called by the Dutch Prince Noekoe,[2] and by the English,

[1] *Calcutta Gazette,* January 29th, 1795.

[2] Nooko was a son of Djamaloodien, Sultan of Tidore, the mild, venerable old man who was pressed by the Dutch with every profession of friendship and good faith to visit them at Fort Orange. He and his eldest son, the Rajah Mooda, were on their arrival there subjected to a form of trial and afterwards sent as prisoners to Batavia, the throne of Tidore being given first to Prince Gaidjira and afterwards to Patra Alam (sometimes spelt

Nooko, or Newco, had visited Captain Court at Fort Coronation. There was a long-standing feud

Pata Alam), both of whom took an oath of allegiance to the Dutch. But Nooko, the son of the old king, remained their implacable foe and took up arms to regain the throne of Tidore. In spite of the reins of government being tightly held by the Dutch over the Tidorese, there is no doubt that they never wavered in their affection for Nooko, and in consequence it is not astonishing that the officers of the English warships in these waters recognised him by the title he had assumed of Sultan of Tidore, Ceram and Papua, although he was treated by the Dutch as a usurper and his kingdom remained in their hands. " In 1782, in consequence of the depredations of this daring chieftain," says Farquhar in his MS. " History of Prince Newco," " the Council at Amboyna applied to Ternate for assistance against him." Nooko, with 100 junks of Ceram, had plundered and burnt villages under Harooka, slaughtered the inhabitants and destroyed the sago plantations. Expeditions were fitted out from Ternate and Amboyna to effect his capture, without success. When Tidore itself became the scene of a conflict, a Dutch fleet with 200 chosen soldiers spread desolation through the island : 1800 inhabitants perished, Patra Alam was banished to Ceylon, and Kamaloodien, the son-in-law of the old Sultan, was set on the throne. The new sovereign spent a whole year at Ternate under the pretext that the Royal Palace at Tidore had been burned down and was not in a state of readiness for his reception. But in reality he knew that his presence was disagreeable to the people and that they wished Nooko to be Sultan. In 1787 Nooko remained at Wauroo, and in the following year renewed his old story of being inclined to submit to the Dutch. In 1791, however, he fitted out 40 corra-corras and unsuccessfully tried to make a descent on the south of Ceram. In 1794 war was declared by France against England and the Prince of Orange, and when the Governors of the Moluccas refused to submit to the British, as their Prince had desired, the issue was fought out. " At the end of 1796," says Farquhar, " Newco still resided at Wauroo and received here presents from the Indian Government. In 1797 two English vessels . . . carried him to Maba, Weda, and Pattani on Gilolo. He there recruited his forces and in company with the English ships sailed to Tidore where he routed his brother, Sultan Kamaloodien, and obliged him to fly to Ternate, when Nooko assumed his vacant throne."

between the Dutch and Nooko, who laid claim not only to his father's throne of Tidore, but also to Ternate and other places. Veritably a black Napoleon, a diplomatist as well as a soldier—resourceful and determined, he wielded an influence over the island-rajahs such as few have ever possessed. He gradually became the most powerful Sultan in the Moluccas. Swarms of Magindanese, Maubese, Ceremaers and Batchianese flocked to his aid in his quarrels with the Dutch, while the native chiefs over and over again equipped fleets of proas for his use. During the early part of his career we sometimes read of his followers capturing Dutch expeditions and putting their captives to death, and at other times we find his proas destroyed by his enemies' cruisers, his followers dispersed, and himself flying for bare life either from Mauba to Wauroo in Ceram, one of his chief haunts, or from Wauroo to Raraket (on the north side of Ceram), or making his way from Ceram to Salawatti, at the west end of New Guinea, which, with Dorey Harbour, he regarded as a part of his kingdom. Through sheer persistence Nooko made himself feared by the Dutch, while the British could not afford to ignore him. Admiral Peter Rainier wrote to Captain Hills: "Be always civil to Prince Nooko, and now and then give him a barrel of gunpowder, but ever keep a good lookout upon him." [1] When his fortunes were at a low ebb, Nooko circulated reports that the English were coming to help

[1] "Letters of Admiral Peter Rainier," Public Record Office.

him. If these reports failed to raise the support he needed, he would profess himself willing to come to terms with the Dutch, and three Governors of Amboyna in turn were duped by him. His quarrels with the Dutch Company made him ready and anxious to show extraordinary friendliness to the British. But his ambassadors seem to have failed in their attempts to obtain assistance against the Dutch either in Bengal or from Admiral Rainier.

On arriving at Dorey Harbour Nooko, perceiving that Captain Court was endeavouring to collect nutmegs for India, invited him and those with him at Restoration Bay to journey to Wauroo, then his headquarters, where he promised to obtain for them spices in greater abundance.

We learn from Lander's examination [1] held at Amboyna on April 24th, 1798, probably the only record extant which gives direct information of the departure of the English expedition from New Guinea, that Nooko's invitation was accepted. Lander relates that after the departure of Captain Hayes from Dorey he became chief officer of the *Duchess*, under Captain Court, and that he " remained at Dorey 21 months altogether." As he had arrived there with Hayes on September 18th, 1793, this fixes the date of his departure as

[1] Lander was suspected of smuggling spices when he visited Amboyna in 1798. He had to give a detailed explanation of his presence in Nooko's dominions before the British Commercial Resident, Amboyna being then under British rule. The English while in possession of the Spice Islands adhered rigidly to the Dutch laws against smuggling.

about the middle of June, 1795. Lander continues: "From Dorey after the return of Risdon from Calcutta we proceeded to Wauroo, on the eastern side of Ceram, by the invitation of Sultan Nooko, and remained there about six weeks. From thence we went to Gabee (Geby) accompanied by the Sultan with his ship *Duke of Clarence*, and the snow *Duchess*. We remained at Gabee about a month, and from there the *Duke of Clarence* went to Bengal with letters from the Sultan to the Bengal Government, and carried two natives of Tidore thither, leaving the *Duchess* to guard the Sultan Nooko." At this time Lander became commander of the *Duchess*, Captain Court having taken charge of another vessel.

On his journey back to Calcutta, Captain Risdon arrived at Penang on Saturday, October 17th. Two British men-of-war were at anchor in the harbour, H.M.S. *Resistance*, 44 guns, Captain Edward Pakenham, and H.M.S. *Orpheus*, frigate, 32 guns, Captain Newcome, and the commanders of these, as well as making use of the traveller from New Guinea, lent him a friendly hand. Five French prisoners of war were placed by them on board the *Duke of Clarence*, and, in order that the accommodation should be mutual, carpenters from the *Orpheus* were sent to repair her. Risdon left Penang on October the 27th [1] and reached Calcutta a month later. The *Madras Courier* [2] records his arrival, and observes: "The discoveries of

[1] Captain's Log of H.M.S. *Orpheus*, 1795.
[2] *Madras Courier*, December 23rd, 1795.

Captain Hayes at New Guinea and other places are . . . likely to prove of great national importance. The ship *Duke of Clarence,* lately arrived at Calcutta from the Spice Islands, discovered by Captain Hayes, has brought a cargo of immense value. It consists of all the spices which are in the highest estimation throughout India, Persia, and Arabia, and which now being scarce in the markets of Europe, have risen in price beyond the precedent of former ages. A letter from Penang, where the *Duke of Clarence* touched on her passage to Bengal, says, that however great may have been the expense of this laudable expedition the proprietors will find ample remuneration in their present valuable cargo. Three native princes of the islands are passengers on the *Duke of Clarence* for Bengal, where they mean to tender homage and implore the protection of the British Government. Captain Court remains at Restoration Bay collecting a second cargo." This is important testimony to the results of the entire voyage of Captain Hayes, which his contemporaries evidently regarded as a paying speculation.

Nooko's envoys, brought to India by Risdon in the *Duke of Clarence,* were very well received by the Governor-General, who sent presents to Nooko, although no promises of assistance were given him. Captain Risdon afterwards took the envoys back to Geby, where Lander awaited his arrival.

Lander further relates : " I remained at Gabee (Geby) eight months from the time the *Duke of*

Clarence sailed until her return, then finding the vessel I commanded was not fit for service, she was burnt." This, then, was the end of Hayes's ship the *Duchess*, of which, as has been said above, Lander had been left in command to guard Nooko during Risdon's absence.

On Risdon's return from Bengal the three ships—the *Duke of Clarence*, the *Phœnix*, under Stewart, and the *Sultan*, under Court—proceeded to Mauba on the north-east coast of Halmaheira, in Gilolo. Lander explored different parts of the island, in which he found round nutmegs and other spices growing there. A short time afterwards he quitted the employment of Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, and entered that of Mr. William Fairlie, a Bengal merchant. Meanwhile, Risdon made several voyages to the Spice Islands, and Indian newspapers record the dates of his sailing and returning. He left Calcutta for the third time in the *Duke of Clarence* on December 7th, 1796.[1]

During 1797 two English vessels[2] carried Sultan Nooko to Mauba in Gilolo, where he recruited his forces and sailed in company with the English vessels to Tidore. He routed the Sultan whom the Dutch had set on his father's throne, and took possession of the island. It seems likely that one of these ships was the *Duke of Clarence*, for we find Risdon, in 1798, in that ship under the Fort of Ternate.

[1] *Calcutta Gazette*, December 8th, 1796.

[2] " History of Newco," Madras Military Consultations, 1803.

On this occasion Risdon, who was accompanied by the schooner *Experiment*, surprised and captured under the guns of the fort a Dutch cruiser, *The Banda's Welvaren*, of twenty-two guns (nine and six pounders), having on board thirty European soldiers and fifty Javanese sailors, exclusive of officers. The fort itself, however, successfully resisted every attempt to take it. Risdon carried his prize and prisoners to Amboyna, which, together with Banda and Timor, had already fallen into the hands of the English. It may be mentioned that the *Duke of Clarence*, when she took the Dutch cruiser, mounted only fourteen guns and was very poorly manned. She afterwards carried her prize to Calcutta, where she arrived on September 2nd, 1798.[1]

The *Duke of Clarence* is recorded as having commenced another voyage to New Guinea in the following November, the last under Risdon's command having apparently taken place in 1800–1801, for she arrived at Calcutta on May 28th of the latter year. It is impossible to ascertain whether plantations of the nutmeg and missoy were kept in cultivation at Restoration Bay up to this period, but it seems certain that English ships continued to trade with New Guinea until May, 1801.[2]

Captain Court, in the *Sultan*, visited Amboyna in 1802. Like Lander, he fell under suspicion of smuggling spices from Ternate through Nooko's

[1] *Madras Courier*, September 12th, 1798.
[2] "Records of the East India Company."

agency. It is only fair to Court to state that he stoutly denied the charge made against him by Colonel Oliver, Commander-in-Chief at the Moluccas, and also that he had in his possession a port clearance from Pulo Penang signed by Sir George Leith, Bart., authorising him to trade "to the eastward and the Moluccas." It is uncertain if Captain Court afterwards returned to India or continued to trade in Nooko's dominions or in New Guinea. But Lander's death is recorded in *The Naval Chronicle,*[1] the following communication being received from Penang in 1805: "Captain Lander, commander of a fine ship belonging to this port, with his two European officers and many of his crew were murdered on their passage from the eastward by the Javanese sailors of his crew, who scuttled the ship." The name of the ship is not given. She was probably called the *Venus.*[2]

Court and Lander well deserve to be remembered among the early explorers of New Guinea. When we realise that for twenty-one months with a few stricken followers they held a British colony in the wildest and most unhealthy part of the island, keeping on terms of friendship with the natives throughout their stay, we shall not withhold from them a place in the ranks of our early pioneers.

The *Duke of Clarence* was wrecked shortly after

[1] Volume 13.

[2] In 1802 Lander visited Amboyna in the *Venus,* of which ship he was captain.

Risdon gave up his command of her. In August, 1801, when in charge of Captain Townsend, she struck upon the edge of the Sumatra Sand, Calcutta, and was totally lost. Meanwhile, Risdon had been appointed captain of the ship *Anna*, which sailed for England in December of that year.[1]

The foregoing passages summarise the information obtainable from surviving records at the India Office concerning the ships and officers of Hayes's expedition after he himself had severed his connection with the settlement at Restoration Bay.

[1] See *Madras Courier*, December 19th, 1801.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT FROM DUTCH SOURCES

Dutch accounts of Hayes and his colony—Haga and his sources of information—The story of the two Sepoys—Arie Coomans—Jan de Orous—Discrepancies—A Chinese story—The end of McCluer and the *Venus*—Questions of dates and ships' names.

TO-DAY the Dutch possess the territory in New Guinea which Hayes and his partners vainly strove to bring under the British flag, and there is a Dutch coaling station at Dorey Harbour. In consequence of certain treaties made in early times with the rulers of the neighbouring islands, treaties which among other matters regulated the growth, price, and distribution of spices, the Dutch claim possession of a great portion of New Guinea. Several of the island chiefs are still nominated on the recommendation of the Sultan of Tidore [1] by the Dutch Governor at

[1] The sovereignty of this ruler extends especially over what is known as the "Raja Ampat," or four Papuan kingships of Salawatti, Waigiu, Misol, and Waigama. Besides the "Raja Ampat," the Sultan of Tidore's sway is acknowledged over the island of Manaswari off Dorey Harbour, Karangdifar, Amberpoera (the west side of Geelvink Bay), and Amberpon, or Omberpon, an island in Geelvink Bay a little south of Dorey. The first Dutch settlement was made in August, 1828, at Triton Bay on the south-west coast. Various inlets in this neighbourhood were then explored by the Dutch officers, and a stockade called Fort

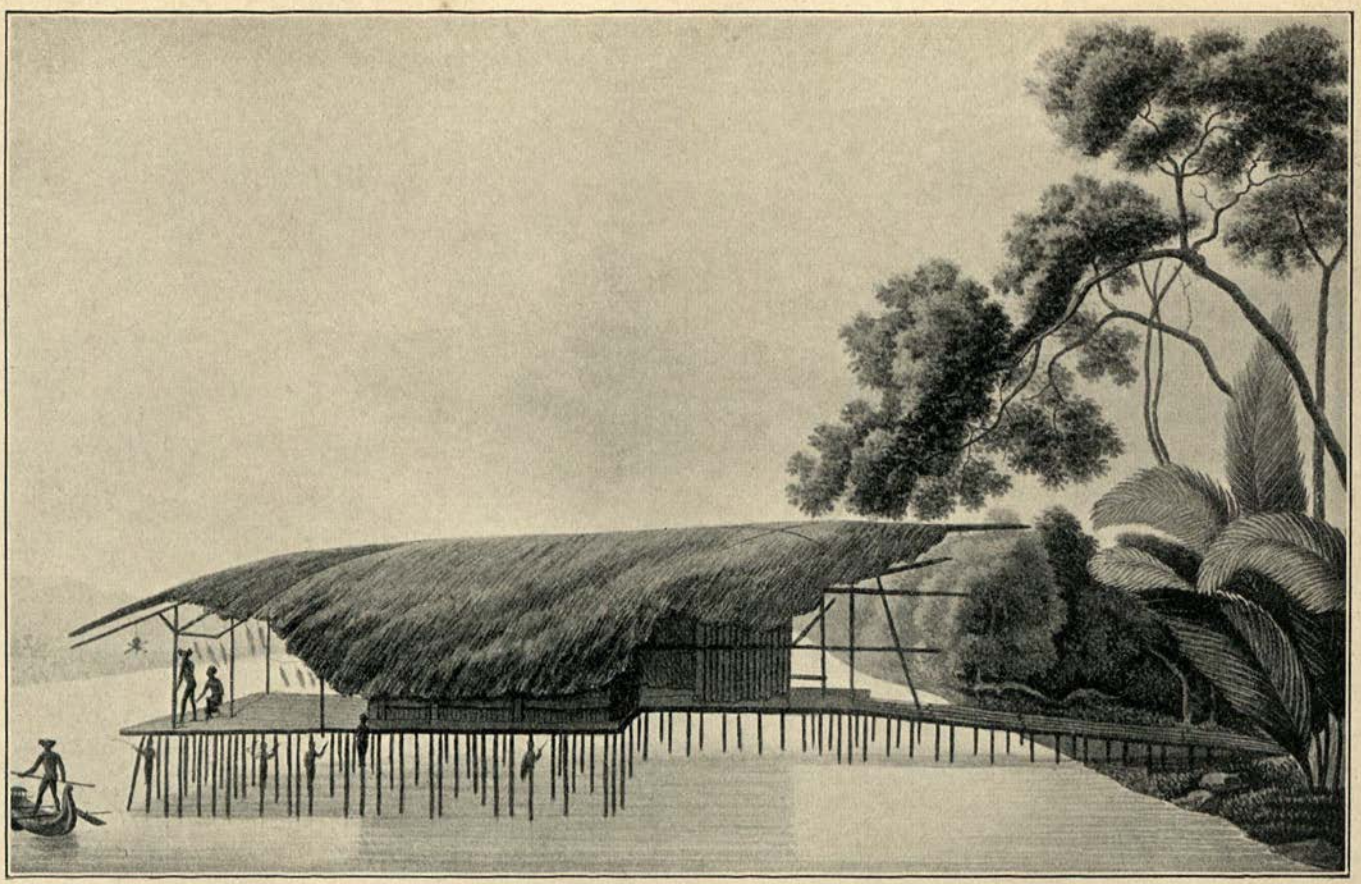
Ternate, and the Dutch find in their dealings with the people that it is convenient to use the Sultan's name and authority.

There is no doubt that the Dutch officials in the Moluccas viewed Hayes's presence in New Guinea with much annoyance, fearing that an English colony in those waters would ultimately prove detrimental to their spice trade. Their testimony with regard to him, therefore, can hardly be regarded as unbiassed.

The accounts to be found in Dutch records about Hayes's colony at Restoration Bay differ materially from the English version of the same incidents, which, we must bear in mind, have been derived from Hayes's own pen, from the letters of his partners Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye, two merchants of credit in Calcutta, from Lander's examination held before the British Resident at Amboyna, and from the Governor-General's Minute, while the Dutch chiefly rely for their account of what took place at Dorey upon a declaration of the two Sepoy prisoners belonging to the crew of the *Duke of Clarence*, mentioned in the last chapter, and upon the story of Jan de Orous,[1] a sailor who deserted from Fort Coronation.

du Bus, enclosing a few huts, was erected at the foot of Lanamtsieri Mountains close to Triton Bay, but was abandoned in 1835. Long before this settlement was made and abandoned, however, vessels from the Moluccas had carried on a regular trade with New Guinea, coming there for tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, trepang, birds of paradise, and missoy bark.

[1] "Private Records of Ternate," August 18th, 1894.



PAPUAN DWELLINGS ROOFED WITH ATAP.

According to the Dutch historian,[1] the Sepoys stated that they were recruited as soldiers for the British East India Company at the beginning of the year 1793, and were immediately put on board a ship commanded by Captain Dee. The names of the two mates were Nenting and Krom. There were on board one boatswain, four quarter-masters, forty sailors, all English, a detachment of sixty Sepoys, and three non-commissioned officers, commanded by Captain Kout.[2] The vessel carried twenty 8-pounders, and ten 6-pounders. They had no other cargo but "rantsoenen." After a voyage of about eight months they reached, in July or August, a small island, not far from New Guinea, that the English called Tidorie, and the Papuans, Dorey.

On the shores was a small plain with a fine river running through it. In the background rose a high mountain. Four Papuan houses were there. Immediately after the English arrived they constructed palisades, which were defended by twelve 8-pounders, and erected inside the necessary houses of wood and "etap."[3]

[1] "Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea," A. Haga.

[2] Nenting is not to be traced in the extant lists of Hayes's crews, any more than Captain Dee, a name which neither resembles Relph nor Hayes. Krom is meant for Croom, and Kout for Court.

[3] "Atap" or "artop," is a bark, *i.e.* palm thatch, used by the Papuans as covering for their houses. The natives are adepts in the art of making atap, the best being made from the leaves of the Nipa palm (*Nipa fruticans*) which grows abundantly in the swamps. Atap can also be made from the sago palm, but not from the cocoa palm.

The natives appear to have been friendly, and willingly brought turtle and missoy for sale, as well as bundles of wood in sticks of about a finger's thickness, without scent and of a yellowish colour inside. Several of the spices growing here the Sepoys had never seen before, but they knew a small sort of wild nut. Eatables seemed to be so scarce, that they could only obtain "Kaladie oebie, Kombilie and patatus."[1] After remaining about three months at Dorey, they further related that Hayes departed with the *Duke* laden with missoy, trepang, and birds of paradise for Bengal, whence he was to fetch the wives and children of the garrison. Haga places his departure in October or November,[2] and concludes that Hayes had at the time a favourable opinion of the safety of his settlement, because the Sepoys stated that he left with Captain Court only two European officers and twenty Sepoys. As we have previously told, thirteen Europeans with eleven Lascars and Sepoys were left at Coronation Bay by Captain Hayes.[3] After the attack was made upon the garrison in the Papuan quarter, several of them were taken as slaves and sold at Ceram. "Among these were our Sepoys," says Haga, "who were taken to Banda, where they regained their liberty." He

[1] It will be observed that, according to Hayes, he planted potatoes himself, and most likely he introduced the common species into the island.

[2] Hayes left Restoration Bay on December 22nd, 1793.

[3] See Chapter XIII. and "Political Proceedings of East India Company," 1795.

also states that "what the Sepoys narrated concerning Hayes's departure agrees fairly well with the private communication of Arie Coomans, Dutch Resident at Bouro, who reported on January 1st, 1794, that Hayes had arrived there from Batchian and had spent forty-two days at Bouro." A previous chapter has shown how the *Duke of Clarence* reached Bouro on February 16th and departed on March 11th. This long wait was, we know, an enforced one, not of forty-two days but of twenty-three days, as Hayes was compelled to send his chief officer from Bouro to Amboyna for provisions.

In the declaration of de Orous,[1] which was dated August 16th, 1794, it was stated that he was called "Jan de Orous of Bengal," and that he had left there in the English ship *Doux*, Captain Kott (the *Duke of Clarence*, Captain Court), in company with four other ships, for Papua in order to build a fortification there. At the place where this was built there were three negro settlements—Masampy (Meos Mapy Island?), Maspapey, and Dory, in the last of which the fort stood. It was armed with seven 6-pounders and garrisoned by one officer, one sergeant, two corporals, ten European soldiers, fifteen Sepoys, two drummers, and two pipers. De Orous, according to his own tale, had run away from Fort Coronation to escape punishment, the Papuans having stolen some clothing left in his care. He was taken by the Papuans as a

[1] Leupe, "Bijdragen," IV. Volgreeks, Deel I.

prisoner to Salawatti, where he was bought by a chief of the Sultan of Tidore and sent to Tidore.

Even Haga admits that there is a discrepancy between the strength of the garrison as stated by de Orous and the Sepoys, but he remarks: This is of minor importance. There are other erroneous particulars concerning Hayes to be found in many Dutch books. They give a wrong impression of an officer to whom the Dutch themselves during the blockade of Batavia were peculiarly indebted, and one who rose to the highest rank in the Bombay Marine, his achievements, as Lieutenant Low tells us, forming "so brilliant a chapter in the history of the Indian Navy." Therefore in justice to his memory they cannot be passed over without notice. While the declaration of de Orous is dated August, 1794, that of the Sepoys is given as February, 1795, and our Dutch authority continues: "In 1793 they knew little or nothing at Ternate of this new settlement, but we know now that at this time Fort Coronation, at Restoration Bay in New Albion, was held by the English! that a fort was commanded by Captain Court, and that Captain Hayes was on his way to fetch the women and children of the garrison, as it was said, from Bengal. It is difficult to say whether this really was his intention, as he did not return to New Guinea. We left Captain Hayes at the end of 1793 at Bouro, we meet him on April 29th, 1794, at Timor. . . . The crew had suffered much from sickness, and at Timor politeness was stretched

to such an extent, that Hayes was assisted with five European sailors, who were to be returned to Batavia." The writer proceeds: "He (Captain Hayes) did not keep his word, but carried the sailors away with him (from Batavia). He behaved in an insolent fashion to the authorities, and left one of his officers clandestinely behind, so that Commissaries General Dr. I. C. Nederburgh, S. H. Frykenius, W. A. Alting, and L. Siberg decided to send reports regarding him to Bengal with instructions to the ministers there to demand proper satisfaction from the English Government."

"On the 18th of May, Hayes left Timor," observes his Dutch historian, "and he may have arrived in that month or in June at Batavia. It appears that on his arrival there he had given Bengal as his destination . . . but on July 17th, 1794, he was at Macao . . . so that it is unlikely that he even called at Bengal."

These paragraphs plainly show how Hayes has been misjudged by the Dutch. We, who have trustworthy evidence of his movements, know, for example, that so far from being at Bouro in 1793, he did not arrive there until the middle of February, 1794, and are aware that, although he did not go direct to Bengal, he spoke the truth when he gave it as his destination on his arrival at Batavia.

Messrs. Frushard and Laprimaudaye write in their petition to the East India Company: "On account of meeting Commodore Mitchell's squadron at Batavia, Captain Hayes found himself under the

necessity of proceeding to China, and therefore he sent off Captain Relph to us on a ship bound to Bengal." This being so, it is evident that Hayes, from the time that the *Duke of Clarence* fell in with Mitchell's squadron, was not his own master, a fact which may explain why the Dutch seamen were not returned. The statement that an officer was left behind clandestinely is not only incorrect, but misleading. Hayes left not one but two officers, namely, Relph and Risdon, behind him; but his sole reason for doing so was to enable them without loss of time to take despatches by an East India Company's ship to his partners in Calcutta and to Sir John Shore. There was, and could be, nothing clandestine in the matter. Equally unfortunate is the suggestion contained in the Dutch Archives, that the officer was left behind for the purpose of corrupting Dutch officials, nor is it supported by any local evidence. It is indeed difficult to see how two isolated British officers could exert any such influence. There can be little doubt that the Dutch, upon hearing that Hayes had formed a colony in New Guinea, were suspicious of him, and on that account could say nothing good of him.

The Dutch also possess various accounts of what happened from time to time at Restoration Bay, both while McCluer was there and after he had left, but we shall deal briefly with them as we are concerned with the man who tried to found a British colony rather than with the early history of his settlement. A Chinese Anachoda,

Tan Tjengou, told this story:—On January 29th, he went to Omberpon (an island in Geelvink Bay, a little to the south of Dorey), and was informed that Noekoe had ceded the entire country of the Papuans to the English, and that neither the servants of the Company nor the Tidorese would be allowed to trade there. Tan Tjengou was not allowed to land anywhere, and, on March 2nd, after being robbed of all he possessed, he received an order from the English settlers to return to China. His pass was endorsed as follows: "As the coast of New Albion is daken (taken) possession of bij his Brittanic Majestys Subject, this pas cannot be of tritur (virtue ?) in those limits. Neither will we permit any vessel belonging to the Dutch Moluccas to trade on this coast with the natives. Have therefore dismisact (dismissed) the bearer." Below, on the left, was written "Cruisers *Resource* and *Venus*. Omberpon Roads, March 2nd, 1795," and to the right were subscribed the names "Thomas Wathimcourt, Lt. Gen. of Fort Coronation New Albion," and "John McCluer the *Venus* cruiser." Haga, to whom we are indebted for the above, makes the comment: "The kind English had the politeness to add to the pass a notice of the following transaction: 'As the coast of New Albion has been occupied, Great Britain cannot recognise this pass or allow Dutch or Chinese Burghers to trade by land or sea.'"

If the pass of the Chinese trader was really endorsed as above stated, it must have been an

amazing document. But the phraseology makes one suspect that a Dutchman had a hand in its composition. If written by a Briton, it would certainly seem as if his sense of humour led him to overstep the bounds of international courtesy. It is, however, difficult to believe that either McCluer or Court was responsible for the pass.

On leaving New Guinea, McCluer sailed to Bencoolen and afterwards to Calcutta. He left the latter port in the *Venus* in August, 1795, but neither he nor his ship was ever heard of again, and it was afterwards believed that the vessel foundered in the Bay of Bengal. The second ship, which, according to Dutch accounts, was in company with the *Venus*, at Omberpon, must have been the *Duchess*.

The Dutch believed that the colony at Restoration Bay was abandoned by the English at the end of April, 1795, for Haga says: "The Supreme Government would have long remained in misapprehension that Dorey was an island belonging to Waigiou if Borkholst, the Governor of Banda, had not sent in a letter, dated June 10th, 1795, a map of the western part of New Guinea . . . drawn by M. Waterloo at Fort Coronation on the coast of Dorey, but which does not (as might be expected) give us the Telok Berau,[1] as described by McCluer," and he thus continues: "Not till July, 1796, when Laurens Harmansz returned from a voyage to Dorey, did the Supreme Government receive the news that

[1] McCluer Inlet.

everything had been found destroyed at the English settlement."

The same historian continues: "As I have maintained that Restoration Bay was deserted in April, 1795, it rests on me to prove my statement." He then proceeds to quote as witness, "Ajub, a lieutenant of the Makassaren," whose pass had also been endorsed.[1]

Ajub had been trading at Dorey during the first part of April, 1795, and had learned that the English had departed. Shortly afterwards, he received word that two English ships had arrived at Wauroo, where Noekoe then was. "These vessels," Haga says, "posed as Frenchmen, but it soon appeared that they were English, and that they carried the flag of the English Company."

As a matter of fact, the two ships were the *Duke of Clarence* and the snow *Duchess*, commanded by Risdon and Lander, which once more voyaged in company.

Haga continues: "Noekoe himself gave the assurance that they were English . . ." and he adds: "There is a great probability that the ships were the *Resource* and the *Duchess of Clarence*, not only because Noekoe had mentioned that they came from the Papoos, but chiefly because there were women on board and the crews consisted principally of blacks. If this was not appreciated

[1] Underneath his endorsement was written, not Omberpon but Restoration Harbour, New Albion, with the names T. W. Court, Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Lander, Commander of the *Resource* cruiser.

at the time in the Moluccas," observes Haga, " the probability becomes almost a certainty when we hear that the *Resource*, under Captain R. Lander, in company with the other ship, soon appeared again off the coast of Halmaheira (the eastern side of the island of Gilolo) and that the unnamed ship was commanded by W. Bellamy Risdon, the same captain in whose charge Noekoe sent on August 6th his goegoegoe[1] and his secretary Ismael with presents and prayers for help to Bengal."

In the first place, while Haga is right in stating that Nooko sent delegates to Calcutta to ask the English to help him against the Dutch, his statement that Restoration Bay was finally abandoned by the British at the end of April, 1795, is open to doubt. Even if the establishment was broken up, as Haga would have us believe, the paragraph published in the *Madras Courier*, in December, 1795, stating that Court was remaining at Restoration Bay to collect yet another cargo of spices, shows that it is possible that Captain Court traded with Restoration Bay after he and Risdon had sailed from there in June of that year. Secondly, the fact of Risdon and Lander being at Halmaheira in company with Nooko, and of some of the latter's subjects going on board the *Duke of Clarence* in order to voyage to Bengal, does not in any way prove that the English plantations at Restoration Bay were abandoned at the date Haga mentions. Haga, too, is evidently confused with

[1] Goegoegoe, or Googoogoo, *i.e.* chief minister.

regard to the names of the English vessels, for the information supplied by Lander clearly shows that the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* were sometimes wrongly called by the Dutch the *Duchess of Clarence* and the *Resource*.

CHAPTER XIII

HAYES RETURNS TO THE BOMBAY MARINE

Hayes rejoins the Marine—He marries—Appointed First Lieutenant to the *Jehanguire*—Commander of the *Princess Augusta*—Commander of the *Vigilant*—He fights pirates and is wounded—He receives honours—Appointed commander of the *Dolphin*—Service on Colonel Little's staff—Appointed commander of the *Alert*—He suppresses pirates as commander of the *Fly*—1795–1799.

IN many of the old newspapers and despatches at the India Office, Hayes's career, after his return to India, can be traced with interest. The Bombay Marine Records show that the period of leave granted to William Relph was limited to twelve months. Hayes's leave was probably of the same duration. Both officers therefore seem to have extended it, without permission, for a considerable period.[1]

In the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed their absence was regarded as excusable by the authorities. Captain Relph rejoined the Bombay Marine on April 24th, 1795, "according to his previous standing and rank," and Hayes did so a month later. At first the work of the latter was confined to duties on shore, while Relph was appointed to the *Strombolo* cruiser.

[1] They were absent from January or February, 1793, until the end of 1794.

Fortune, in this year of disappointment, at last smiled upon Hayes. On August 17th, 1795, just eight months after his return to India, he was married to Miss Catherine Pyne, an English lady, at the New Church, Calcutta, the officiating clergyman being the Rev. D. Brown, junior chaplain at Fort William.[1] Miss Pyne had arrived in India two years previously, travelling from England in the *William Pitt* under Commodore Mitchell, before that vessel had been commissioned as a cruiser by the Governor-General. In the list of passengers attached to the ship's log at the India Office the lady appears as Miss Catherine Pine, but in the notices of her marriage, her name is always spelt Pyne.

The marriage was destined to prove a very happy one. At first the young couple lived at Calcutta, but afterwards Mrs. Hayes took up her residence permanently at Bombay. She was at the time of her marriage only sixteen years of age, and a relative describing an old miniature of her says that she possessed "red hair and freckles." However, it is probable that Mrs. Hayes was a very pretty woman. The painting on ivory, by Thomas Heaphy, of her surrounded by her daughters was greatly admired when exhibited in London. It is said that Queen Charlotte wished to purchase it. Heaphy was at that time more successful than any other artist except Sir Thomas Lawrence. The Princess of Wales, Princess

[1] The names Thomas Scott and J. Hungerford appear on the register as witnesses to the marriage.

Charlotte, and other royalties sat to him, and the crowded corner in the Exhibition room at Spring Gardens, always told where his pictures were hung. The reproduction of Mrs. Hayes and her daughters in this work is copied from a rather faded photograph now in the possession of Mr. Law. But it will be seen that Mrs. Hayes holds a scroll in her hand. It is supposed that she is drawing to the notice of her daughters the coast of Java where her husband was then cruising.

Early in February, 1796, Hayes got a sea appointment, receiving orders to join the *Jehanguire* at Bombay as First Lieutenant. Accompanied by his wife he sailed from Calcutta in the *Gunjava*, and began his duties on the 13th. The *Jehanguire* was hastily equipped, with other vessels, by the Bombay Government in order to intercept a French squadron, which had suddenly made its appearance off Diu and threatened the destruction of the Portuguese settlement.

The enemy's fleet consisted of three frigates—the *Sybille*, *Prudente*, and *Moineau*—under the command of Commodore Renaud. When it was first sighted it carried English colours, but upon coming nearer the island of Diu the French flag was hoisted. The frigates opened fire on the *Rial Fedelissima*, a Portuguese warship lying in the harbour; and for a short time her Commander, De Souza Pereira, returned it. But seeing that his ship was in danger of being captured he cut her cable, ran her ashore and took refuge with his crew in the fort. The fight then became a more

MRS. HAYES AND HER DAUGHTERS.

CHARLOTTE (afterwards Mrs. Law). HELEN (afterwards Mrs. Crawford).

ELIZABETH (afterwards Mrs. Grant).

From a painting on ivory by Thos. Heaphy, in the possession of Mr. George Law.

equal one, and the French frigates, unable to sustain the heavy bombardment which De Souza turned upon them, withdrew. On the news of their presence at Diu reaching Bombay, patamars [1] were sent down the coast to warn all merchant ships to return to Colombo, where the British squadron was stationed, and on February 24th the Honourable Company's fleet, consisting of the *Exeter*, Captain Lestock Wilson, the *Brunswick*, Captain Ackland, and the *Jehanguire*, Captain Thomas Hardie, in which Hayes sailed as First Lieutenant, went in search of the French Commodore.

Each ship was strengthened by military detachments trained in the use of the big guns, which were in charge of Captain Mackenzie of the 75th Regiment, Captain Patrick of the 1st Bombay Regiment, and Captain Davie of the 75th Regiment, respectively.

On March 7th the vessels anchored in Diu Roads. But failing to gain any intelligence of the movements of the French, they returned to Bombay.

They were recommissioned for a second cruise when Captain Lucas arrived in H.M.S. *Arrogant*. After taking supplies on board they shaped their course towards Muscat, with orders to "scour the track of the Mocha trade."

Hayes quitted the *Jehanguire* before she left

[1] Small vessels employed in the coasting trade of Bombay and Ceylon. A patamar's keel has an upward curve amidships and extends only about half the length of the vessel, the draught of water being much greater at the head than at the stern. It possesses "a solitary mast, like the chimney of a steam vessel, on which is hoisted one unwieldy sheet of coarse canvas."

Bombay on this cruise, as he had been re-appointed to command a small cruiser named the *Princess Augusta*, stationed at Diu. He remained in that ship for one season only, but it is evident that at this time he came under the favourable notice of his superiors in the Bombay Marine, for a little later he was chosen to proceed on a difficult mission sent by the Bombay authorities to the Hakim of Sonmiani.

Before this, in July, 1794, a British ship, the *Futty Islaam*, had sailed from Bombay, and had been deserted by her crew upon the Persian coast during the heavy rains. She was taken possession of by Meer Khan,[1] the Hakim mentioned, who wrote to the Company's superintendent at Bombay, offering to deliver her up upon payment of 10,000 rupees as salvage money together with an additional sum for the care bestowed upon her, which included bringing her up the Arbis (the Arabis of Nearchus), a river in his dominions.

The East India Company declined to entertain such a proposal. They decided to dictate their own terms, instructing Lieutenant Hayes to enforce them on the Hakim. For the purpose he was given a small armed ship named the *Vigilant*, carrying six two-pounders, and a crew of eighteen natives. In addition he was provided with a personal escort consisting of seven artillery men, two European sailors, and twenty-two Sepoys.

The *Vigilant* left Bombay Harbour early in

[1] The *Futty Islaam* was eventually brought to Bombay in November, 1801. Meer Khan was sued for detaining her, and the Bombay Court awarded her owners 13,000 rupees.

January, 1797, and on the 13th arrived at the entrance to the Gulf of Cutch. She was close to the island of Beyt when suddenly four pirate ships bore down upon her. At that time, Beyt was the most powerful of four petty states, consisting of Beyt, Aramra, Piffootra, and Gomte, all pirate strongholds. Between them they possessed no less than two thousand fighting men and thirty fighting vessels.

Each of the four ships that left Beyt to bear down upon the *Vigilant* was quite double her size, and manned by a well-armed crew. On reaching her the pirates lashed their vessels alongside and boarded her. A desperate struggle then began. But the crew of the *Vigilant*, under Lieutenant Hayes, offered such a spirited resistance to the pirates that, after fighting for four hours, they were compelled to retire, their largest vessel, the first to board the *Vigilant*, losing forty men killed and twenty wounded. Unfortunately, just at the close of the fight, while the pirates were casting off their lashings, a ball from a gingall (a long native matchlock gun) was fired close to Hayes's face. It shattered his jawbone, and caused other serious injuries which very nearly cut short his career. Five days elapsed before the *Vigilant* reached Bombay, and during that time the wounded remained without medical assistance. For some time Hayes's life was despaired of, and long after his recovery he felt the effects of his wound, which left a permanent scar.

On May 25th, 1798, the Directors decided to

present Lieutenant Hayes with a sword of honour, of fifty guineas' value, " for his intrepid behaviour," and also to reward the bravery of the Europeans and Sepoys in the action. As at that time Hayes had no son, his eldest child, born earlier in the year, being a girl, he asked that the gift might take another form, and received instead a silver cup, which bore the following inscription :—

" At the entrance to the Gulf of Cutch the *Vigilant* was attacked by a fleet of four sail Sangarian pirates, each vessel double her size and force. This unequal and desperate action lasted four hours, three-fourths of which time the enemy was on board the *Vigilant*. At the termination of this memorable contest Lieutenant Hayes received a severe wound, having the lobe of his right ear shot away, and his jawbone shattered."

The notice of the birth of a daughter to Lieutenant and Mrs. Hayes, on April 22nd, 1798, appears in the *Bombay Courier*. This was their first child, and she was named Charlotte.[1]

After recovering from his illness Hayes was given the command of an armed boat, named the *Dolphin*, which had been told off to protect the trade to the south of Bombay. On one occasion it captured two large pirate gallivats.[2] Each carried a nine-pounder and two six-pounders aft and had a complement of sixty-seven men. They

[1] Her husband was George Evan Law, Bengal Civil Service, who died in Calcutta, November 6th, 1820.

[2] Galleywats, or gallivats, were large rowing boats of 40 to 70 tons with two masts, and carrying four to eight guns.

bore down upon Hayes, and were in the act of attacking his convoy when, with a picked crew of twenty-five native Lascars and Sepoys, he lowered himself into a merchant patamar, boarded the pirates and captured them. The vessels were, however, claimed by the Mahratta Government and were subsequently given back.

Though the *Dolphin* was kept busy in checking the inroads of pirates who infested the Indian seas, Hayes was often in Bombay. The stress of some of his later cruises forms a contrast with the quiet spell of home-life that he enjoyed at this period.

Early in 1799 Hayes was again employed on shore, serving with Colonel Little's detachment, which was intended to attack the dominions of Tippoo from the Mahratta frontier. On March 2nd, H.M.S. *Suffolk* left Bombay for Cannanore with the 75th Regiment, and on the following day the troops, under Colonel Little, proceeded in botellas and other craft, which Hayes in his capacity of boatmaster provided for them. During this expedition Hayes ranked as one of Little's staff, remaining with him until after the reduction of Seringapatam.

Hayes was next appointed to the *Alert*—12 guns and 45 men. He was ordered to proceed immediately to Kenery Island, as a merchant vessel and other property had been captured by pirates and taken on shore there by Rajah Angria, a descendant of the celebrated pirate of that name. The island, strongly fortified with 200

pieces of cannon, afforded only one accessible landing-place, which was on the north-eastern side. Hayes brought his ships to within eighty yards of the gateway, and disembarked with his men. He recovered not only the vessel and her cargo, but forced the Rajah to pay 500 per cent. for all that was missing. His services were afterwards publicly acknowledged by the Bombay Government.

We next find Hayes in the Persian Gulf. On his return he received fresh promotion, being appointed to the Honourable Company's brig *Fly*, 14 guns and 75 men. This vessel patrolled the part of the Indian coast whereon stood the formidable stronghold of Gheria. After its capture in the year 1756 by the English, it had been surrendered to the Mahrattas with other forts in its vicinity. Since then it had become nothing more nor less than a nest of pirates who preyed upon Indian traders in the most barefaced manner. They also found hiding-places at Vingorla, Melundy Island, near Malwan, and Raree. While in command of the *Fly* Hayes again displayed that rare courage and admirable strategy which so often in times of danger held his enemies in check. On appearing off Vingorla Rocks he landed his sailors, who concentrated their attack upon the principal battery commanding the heights above the fort. At noonday it fell. Hayes then dismantled it and threw all its guns into the sea. The pirate chief was afterwards compelled to restore the British property that he held in his possession.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SIEGE OF TERNATE

The Dutch in the Moluccas—Ternate holds out against the British forces—Hayes takes part in the attack—He serves on shore under Colonel Burr—Hayes takes command of naval forces—The capture of Ternate—Hayes relieves Amoorang and returns to Amboyna—A question of prize-agents—1797–1802.

THE story of the siege of Ternate would alone fill a volume. There are several versions of it in Dutch, but it has seldom, if ever, been written in English with any degree of completeness.

Ternate [1] is the northernmost island of the chain known as the Moluccas. Formerly it was the seat of sovereignty of the whole group, including Tidore, Batchian, Motir, and Matchian, its King extending his rule over not less than seventeen or eighteen islands. The clove tree being indigenous to them, they became the most highly prized possessions of the Dutch in the East Indies. In Ternate the Dutch constructed several solid forts, the best known of which were a castle built of stone called the Castle Rock (Fort Orange), Fort Kajoemera, Fort Kota Barra and Fort Terlucco. These were sufficiently strong to enable

[1] Ternate was taken by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1606.

the Governor of Ternate to hold out when the rulers of Amboyna, Banda, and Tidore were forced to submit to the English naval commanders.

When the war between England and France first broke out, Holland was on the side of England, but when Holland became, as it were, the annexe of France, the British Admiral, Peter Rainier, was ordered by the Admiralty to take over the various Dutch islands and settlements in the Molucca seas. The Dutch Governors of islands in these waters, however, refused to place themselves under the protection of the British fleet, even after they had received letters addressed to them by the Prince of Orange desiring them to do so. In most cases the issue was fought out, with the result that during the year 1796 one Dutch possession after another fell into Rainier's hands. British officials, with a few troops, were placed in supreme control of the settlements at Amboyna, Banda, and other places, and the Dutch civil servants were allowed to continue in their appointments as before, their salaries being paid them by the English while the Dutch laws and mode of government were continued. Ternate, however, held out against every attempt to reduce it. Until 1800, beyond capturing some small Dutch cruisers and pantchallangs carrying food supplies from Batavia, and occasionally bombarding the forts, no very determined effort was made by the British commanders to effect its capture. At various times parleyings took place between British and Dutch officers, and Pakenham in H.M.S.

Resistance, Ballard in H.M.S. *Hobart*, and later on Hills in H.M.S. *Orpheus*, sent summonses to Governor Budach to surrender. But the negotiations of Frost, who came in the *Bombay* frigate, or of Risdon, who, in the *Duke of Clarence*, captured the *Banda's Welvaren* from under the guns of the fort, or of Lander, ever dependent on Nooko's fleet of Tidorese coracoras, can hardly be regarded as forming part of Great Britain's enterprise in this direction.

In 1801, Admiral Rainier decided upon a fresh plan of blockade. At the beginning of the year, at intervals, the Dutch inhabitants observed English ships in the Roads, and Cranssen, who had in 1799 succeeded Budach as Governor, took the precaution to strengthen Ternate's defences, feeling confident that if the English vessels attacked it he could hold the island.

Soon afterwards, Captain John Hayes made his appearance for the first time as commander of a warship in the Moluccas. He had received orders from Madras to embark with 45 seamen in the Honourable Company's ship *Britannia*, commanded by Captain Barrow, and to proceed to Amboyna to take charge of the cruiser *Swift*, placing himself under Admiral Rainier's orders. On January 21st Hayes arrived at Amboyna. He found to his disgust the *Swift* lying on the beach partly broken up and her officers and men dispersed, while the English fleet, under Captain George Astle, lay in the harbour in readiness to start on an expedition against Ternate, H.M.S.

La Virginie being Astle's flagship. Seeing no prospect of immediate service for want of a ship, Hayes volunteered, with the detachment of seamen he had brought with him, to act under Colonel Burr, who had charge of the troops which were to take part in the land operations. His offer was accepted, and, twenty-two hours after his arrival at Amboyna, Hayes distributed his seamen among Astle's five ships—*La Virginie*, the *Hobart*, the *Henrietta*, the *Splinter* brig, and the *Ternate*—then about to sail. With twenty of his men he obtained a passage in the *Hobart*.

As soon as the squadron arrived off the Castle Rock, Ternate, on February 10th, two officers were sent from *La Virginie* with despatches from Captain Astle to the Governor. The British officers, on landing, were received by Governor Cranssen, to whom they handed a letter, signed jointly by Captain Astle and Colonel Burr, which called upon him to surrender the island. The Governor flatly refused to do so. Next day, therefore, the British military force, of which Hayes's detachment formed a part, were landed on the north side of the island.

During the operations that followed, Hayes attempted to scale Fort Terlucco with ladders. But the fire of its guns and the cross-fire of the two field-pieces combined with a flanking force of 600 natives on his right only 600 yards distant, made the feat impossible. The Dutch were far too well prepared to allow the fort to be captured, and the whole of the attacking column under Colonel Burr was forced to retire with the loss

of a third of its number. Describing the fight, Hayes says: "After a desperate conflict with the enemy under the walls of one of the hill forts named Talooka (Terlucco) they were overcome, notwithstanding every gallant effort . . . to force the enemy's strong position." Hayes returned with Burr to Amboyna on February 18th. On his return there, to his great satisfaction, he was appointed by Mr. Farquhar, the Honourable Company's Resident, to the command of a ship commissioned to take the place of the *Swift*, and named after her.

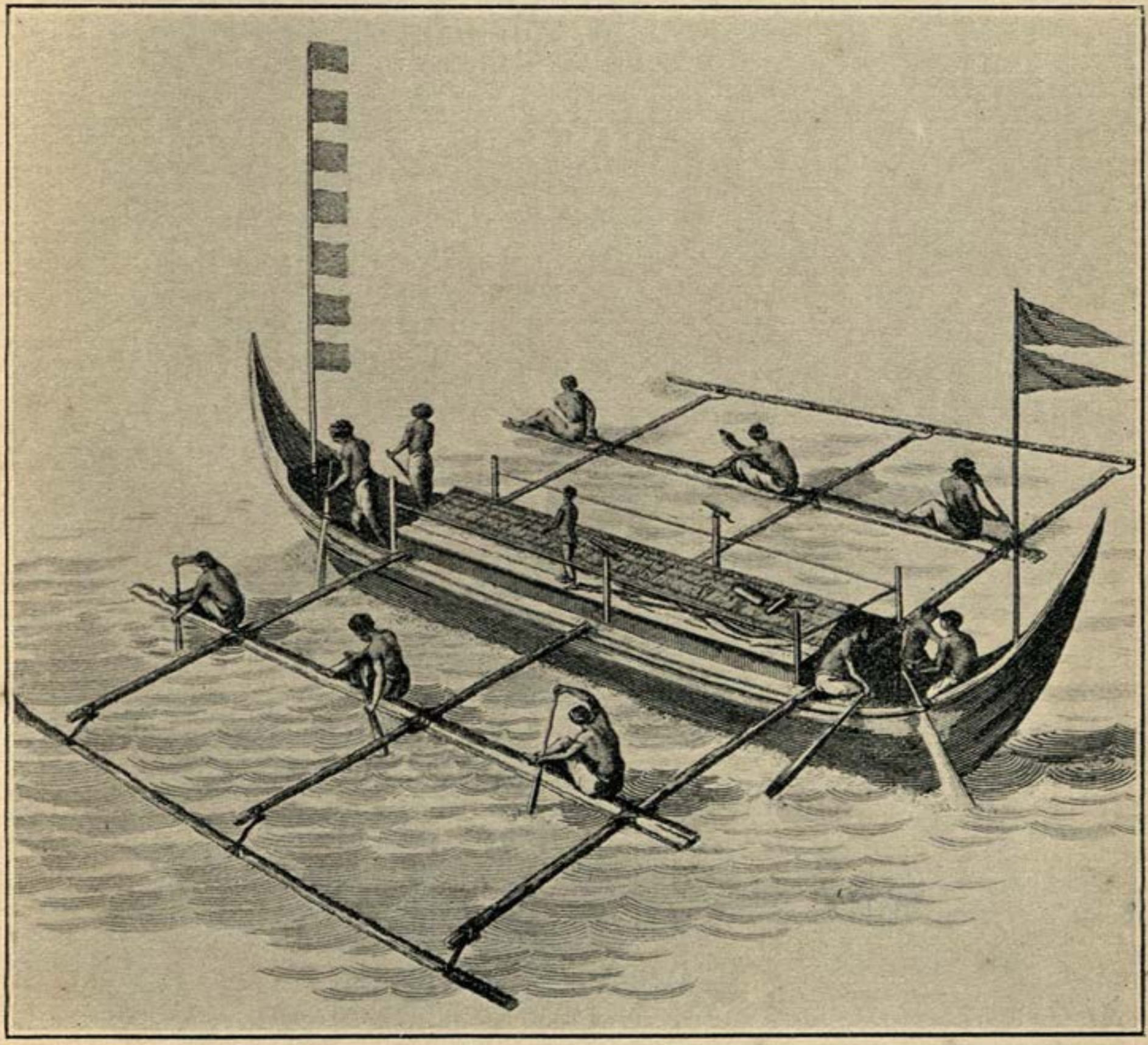
The failure of the attack was a great disappointment to the Resident, who caused a second expedition to be fitted out. As before, Colonel Burr took charge of the land forces, and Rainier's fleet being absent upon other service, the ships of the East India Company blockading Ternate were placed under the control of Captain Hayes. They were the *Swift*, Captain Hayes; *Star*, Captain Scott; *Bangalore*, Captain Lynch; *Splinter*, Captain Lawrence; *Resource*, Captain Hague, and *Albion*, Captain Wallace.

The expedition sailed from Amboyna on April 2nd, 1801, reaching Tidore on the 23rd, where Burr interviewed the Sultan and various chieftains. On April 29th the flotilla arrived in the roads of Ternate, anchoring opposite the Castle Rock. Cranssen then received from Colonel Burr yet another command to surrender. Determined to waste no time in parleying, Burr on May 1st gave the Dutch only twelve hours' grace. In reply

Cranssen ironically thanked him but at the same time refused to capitulate. On May 3rd Burr therefore landed to reconnoitre, and the next day a detachment of troops under Captain Walker disembarked and proceeded to erect batteries along the coast. The Dutch Commander tried to render these harmless by throwing up earthworks. At length between the night and morning of May 8th and 9th the first success was won by the English, when after a heavy bombardment the Fort Kajoemera was captured.

In the meantime Captain Hayes blockaded the harbour, and no ship however small, carrying food supplies for Ternate, escaped his vigilance. In addition to the East India Company's vessels, Prince Nooko's coracoras swarmed along the coast, chasing the Dutch boats, until, as Cranssen[1] states, at one time there were no less than 100 Tidorese craft in the roads. By drawing the guns of the forts, Hayes greatly contributed to the British success. Two days later he manœuvred the *Swift* within musket range of the Castle Rock and four other batteries; where she remained for two hours and a half returning the fire of the Dutch guns and causing much destruction in the town. On the 16th Hayes, followed by the *Star* under Scott, came a second time close to the chief fort, and again replied to its batteries. But the fire from the shore was returned so vigorously that both ships were eventually obliged to withdraw out of range.

[1] "Tydschrift voor Indische," Batavia, Deel XVI., p. 503.



A CORACORA OF THE MOLUCCAS.

The next event in the roads of Ternate is told in a letter written by Captain Hayes to Mr. Dundas, Marine Superintendent at Bombay. After referring to the two attacks which he had made on the Castle Rock, Hayes says: "On May 17th we also captured two padnachers from Java, and on the 21st the American brig *Hazard*, from Batavia, all bound for Ternate with supplies, the cargo of the *Hazard* (being) the entire property of the Dutch Government, whose passes are in my possession. On the morning of the 21st June, the third and last attack was made on Fort Orange (the Castle Rock). In this I was most gallantly supported by the *Star*, Lieutenant Scott. The ships lay stationary within pistol shot of the batteries for more than thirty minutes exposed to a cross and raking fire from twelve-, eighteen-, and twenty-four-pounders.[1] (The attack was continued and had the desired effect.) At 11 a.m. Ternate and its dependencies surrendered and was taken possession of by the land forces. The vessels in the roads had previously struck to the *Swift*. I had been fortunate on this service to lose only one man killed and nine wounded, the latter all recovering, but the ship's hull, masts, rigging, and sails have been severely damaged. I shall send regular details of the proceedings hereafter. The Marine Lieutenants, Scott, Deane,

[1] This passage, which has the effect of ascribing the surrender exclusively to the action of the sea-force, was interpolated by the editor of the paper, or by Mr. Dundas, and its authenticity as part of Hayes's own narrative was called in question later. See Chapter XXII.

Rawlings, Ross, and Henderson, have particularly distinguished themselves. I beg leave to bring to your notice Mr. Daniel Owler, master, Mr. John Burgh, third lieutenant of the *Swift*, and Captain Richard Hughes, the Honourable Company's surveyor at the Moluccas. Mr. Egan, commanding the Honourable Company's brig *Resource*, is also entitled to the highest commendation. The seamen brought from the Presidency fought with me in the ranks against Tolooko on February 11th,[1] and have behaved equally well ever since."

The Dutch felt the loss of the ships very severely, particularly the capture of the *Hazard*, which struck to Hayes. The poorer inhabitants of Ternate had now nothing to eat save dogs and cats or any refuse procurable, and are said to have perished at the rate of from ten to twenty a day.

Determined to hold out, Cranssen defied the British, and refused to acknowledge the superiority of their forces. With great obstinacy he declared that the fall of Fort Kajoemera was due solely to the treachery of two Dutch officers. A few days after this loss the "pennisten" refused to fight and threatened to compel the Governor to capitulate "because," says the Dutch historian,[2] "of the close proximity of the English batteries and of the want of provisions."

Among the cargo on board the *Hazard* were found hams, cheese, and spirits intended for the Governor of Ternate. Captain Hayes, under a flag of truce, forwarded these delicacies to Cranssen,

[1] Burr's first attack.

[2] A. Haga.

but the Dutch Governor with much spirit returned them, replying that he " did not require them, but preferred to share the rations of his garrison." [1]

When the English had taken possession of Fort Kajoemera, the Dutch turned their guns upon it, bombarding it with all their available artillery so furiously and so persistently that Colonel Burr informed Hayes that he would be unable to hold it unless assistance was given him by the squadron. Hayes immediately sent Mr. Deane, First Lieutenant of the *Swift*, with twenty-five seamen, who held the fort for two nights and two days under a raking fire from the hill battery of Tellingname which Cranssen had strongly reinforced and entrenched. The Dutch version states that the English lost five men at Kajoemera by this fire upon the first day of the bombardment, and that the drawbridge was shattered.

Captain Lynch of the *Bangalore* was the next English sailor who volunteered to garrison Kajoemera, and in the East India Company records we find a letter from Captain Brougham,[2] acting for Colonel Burr, thanking him for also giving assistance.

[1] Low, " History of the Indian Navy."

[2] " Bengal Political Consultations." Brougham's letter runs as follows :—

" The Colonel, having heard of your zealous and handsome offer of garrisoning Kiameira, has desired me to express his acknowledgment of such an uncommon instance of public spirit, and as his own troops are much harassed from occupying so many posts he is pleased to accept the service of your Havildar and Sepoys who will compose part of the garrison . . . four soldiers have (come in ?) this morning from the enemy."

Notwithstanding Cranssen's heroism, the population of Ternate had determined to surrender, and they sent a deputation to inform him of the fact. Still the Governor would not give way, and summoned his officers to discuss some new plan of defence. At the first council held it was agreed that they should allow a fortnight to elapse, hoping that in the meantime aid might arrive at the island. But a few days later when some Dutch brigs, entering the harbour, were captured by Captain Hayes, the discontent of the inhabitants broke out again.

Unheedful of it, Cranssen sent away a British officer who arrived off the ramparts to offer him fresh terms, refusing to discuss surrender with him "at any price." In the evening of June 19th the Governor recorded that one of his own officials threatened to shoot him if he persisted in holding out longer. On June 20th he was overruled by a commission of councillors who took the law into their own hands, and drew up the draft of capitulation.

Haga's account, of course, attributes the surrender of Ternate wholly to the treachery of the Dutch rather than to the stubborn fighting of the English. But there are plenty of proofs that the islanders were beaten. Burr's troops had penetrated some distance into the interior, and on June 21st, the day upon which Hayes made his last attack, the fort was actually scaled from the harbour side by the officers and men of the Bombay Marine, and victory was complete. The value of the property captured by the squadron

amounted to a lac, or 50,000 dollars, equal to £20,000. On this day the capitulation was accepted by the Dutch, terms being signed between T. Brougham, Joseph Walker, and Daniel Burr, acting for the British, and by J. Rodijk, L. H. van Tadema, and D. J. van Dockum on behalf of the Dutch. At noon the English troops marched into the Castle, took possession of it and hoisted the British flag to the accompaniment of a royal salute. The Dutch soldiers then marched out with military honours.

Before the *Swift* left Ternate, on July 13th, Captain Hayes and Lieutenant Rawlings were taken seriously ill with fever. A severe epidemic —which Colonel Oliver calls jungle fever—was raging over the whole island, and no less than sixty of the crew of the *Swift* were in a precarious state when the ship put to sea. Manado was sighted on the 21st and while the vessel lay there at anchor Mr. Rawlings died, the whole ship's company mourning the loss of this promising officer.

On July 29th a message arrived at Manado from the Resident at Amboyna requesting Captain Hayes to proceed to the relief of Amoorang—a Dutch outpost lately taken by the English, which was then being besieged by a fleet of Magindanao pirates. It consisted of forty proas from which twelve hundred men and twelve brass guns (eight- and six-pounders) had been landed.

Notwithstanding the weak state of his crew Captain Hayes hastened to carry out these

orders, and on August 1st, at half-past five in the afternoon, the *Swift* came up with the pirate fleet. Hayes at once opened fire upon it, and gave chase until half-past nine in the evening. His attention was then called to the critical situation of his ship which, in the growing darkness, had drawn near a dangerous reef surrounded by islands. To this circumstance many of the pirate proas owed their escape, as the *Swift* had already captured two, sunk one and run seventeen ashore before she was compelled to haul away from the reef. Each proa carried from sixty to eighty men armed with muskets and lances, and in addition to several small guns, a brass six- or eight-pounder forward.

Six hundred pirates lost their lives in this action, which saved the Company's settlements upon the Celebes, with their well-stored granaries, from ravage. For the freebooters who had overrun the whole of Sangir Island, reduced the capital at Tairoon to ashes and captured and carried off two hundred women besides a large number of men. Many of these unfortunate prisoners perished in the fight. One of the women was saved by the *Swift*, and a pirate was also taken from a sunken ship. On October 1st Captain Hayes set sail to Amboyna, where he was under orders to convey the troops who had been relieved in the *Asia* and *Mary* transports to Madras.

Meanwhile, Colonel Burr, too, had returned to Amboyna, and on January 17th, 1802, resigned the military command of Ternate to Colonel Oliver.

Before Burr and Hayes finally parted the friendly relations which had existed between them became very strained. During the blockade the lion's share of Dutch property had fallen into Hayes's hands. After the war was over Burr desired Hayes to hand this property over to the prize agents "for the purpose of dividing it among the land and sea forces." Burr also instructed Colonel Oliver, through whom he made the request, to obtain from Captain Hayes "an official statement of the property captured." Oliver thought the second request of Burr's superfluous, for he refused to repeat it to Hayes, who made a characteristic reply to the first. He wrote to Oliver: "I have nothing to do with prize agents. I consider the money and property to be at the disposal of the Government and shall deliver the whole or any part on their account whenever I receive a requisition from Colonel Burr to that effect—he or any person sent to take charge of it passing me a receipt for the same on account of Government service unconnected with any mention of prize agents." No doubt this reply was conveyed to the military commander.

Hayes and Burr did not bury their differences with the capture of Ternate, and a tiresome dispute was carried on between them for some time. It originated in the letter that Hayes sent to Mr. Dundas, Marine Superintendent at Bombay, describing the attack on Fort Orange. Dundas forwarded an extract from it to the Bombay Government, at the same time drawing

attention "to the bravery and good conduct of Captain Hayes and of his officers and men at the siege of Ternate" which "reflected great honour on the corps to which he belonged." He also recommended Hayes for some special mark of approbation "as a reward for himself and as an encouragement for others." The Government ordered the extract from Hayes's letter to be published in the *Bombay Courier*. It afterwards found its way into Calcutta and Madras newspapers.

When Colonel Burr saw the extract in print his anger and indignation knew no bounds. He wrote off post-haste to Hayes stating that the published report describing the fall of Ternate was not true, adding that as Commander-in-Chief of the whole force employed in the reduction of the island he deemed it necessary to call upon Captain Hayes "to avow or deny himself in the most public manner the author of such a shameful production."

Hayes returned a calm answer much to the point. "It was his duty to represent to the Marine Superintendent at Bombay every circumstance relating to the squadron as well as the conduct of every person under his command. He had done so without presuming to assign laurels to any of them; and without wishing to depreciate the merits of the land forces, those under his command were at least equally entitled to commendation. He denied Burr's right to the title of Commander-in-Chief by sea and land with supreme

authority as assumed by him in his letter." On receiving Hayes's answer Burr at once decided to take his grievance to headquarters. He addressed a complaint of Hayes's conduct to the Bombay Government, enclosing Hayes's reply to his own letter and calling attention to various statements contained in the printed extract which had caused him so much annoyance.

The authorities at Bombay referred the correspondence to the Superintendent of the Bombay Marine. That post was no longer held by Mr. Dundas, but his successor made careful investigations into the matter. He found that Dundas had inserted certain words in the letter under an erroneous impression, thereby changing the date of the attack referred to by Hayes. The Marine Superintendent then proceeded to quote for the benefit of the Government a despatch from the Resident at Amboyna, dated January 14th, 1802, containing high praise of Hayes's conduct during the operations at Ternate. This testimony to Captain Hayes's services stood him in good stead, as although the Bombay authorities would probably have been loath to censure such a capable officer, they could not have overlooked Burr's complaints.

But the matter was not to end there. Colonel Burr reached Madras in June, 1802, and immediately upon his arrival lodged a wrathful complaint against Hayes. In substance it related that, on the day following their departure from Amboyna, he had deserted two transports, the *Asia* and *Mary*, full of native troops returning

to the coast, which had been placed under the convoy of the *Swift*, thereby exposing the *Mary* to great danger.

Luckily on June 7th Hayes had written from Prince of Wales Island, advising the Madras Government of his arrival there with the *Swift* in a very disabled condition in consequence of having sprung a leak and sustained other damage through a continuance of bad weather. He had proceeded to Prince of Wales Island in order to save the lives of his crew and to preserve the valuable property of the Company on board; his ship being condemned as unserviceable was sold on the spot.

Colonel Burr, however, had resolved by hook or by crook to have Hayes punished. A third complaint was lodged with the Madras Government. Further, on his return to England, soon after, Burr on November 6th, 1803, brought to the notice of the Court of Directors the improper conduct, as he termed it, of Captain John Hayes.[1]

That a brave man—as Burr undoubtedly was—should act in this way seems extraordinary. It must be remembered, however, that the comparatively young navy of the East India Company was at this time beginning to win recognition as a fighting force in Eastern seas. Burr was not the only one to withhold from its officers the meed of praise due to them, their names being often left unmentioned in the despatches describing engagements in which they had taken part.

[1] "Personal Records of Captain Hayes."

In due course Captain Hayes, who in November, 1802, had been promoted to the rank of a First Captain, was again called upon for explanation in respect of Burr's charges against him. His reply, dated on board the *Bombay* frigate, June 10th, 1804, addressed to Mr. Secretary Ramsay, was even more dogged than before. He advised Mr. Ramsay that he had been appointed by the Governor General in Council since the commencement of hostilities to command a squadron of the Company's ships of war equipped for the protection of the Bay of Bengal, and requested to hold that station permanently.[1] He ended his letter by pointing out that the arduous and splendid conquest of Ternate was chiefly brought about by the severe conflicts maintained by the vessels under his command against Fort Orange.

Nothing, of course, could have more enraged Colonel Burr. In November, 1804, and again in March, 1805, he strongly urged the Directors to comply with his request and to enable him to refute the misrepresentations of a man who he was confident "would be found highly reprehensible to the interests of his employers." Fortunately by this time Hayes's employers were realising his worth and were disposed to hear no more complaints about him. They merely notified to Burr that Hayes had been directed to proceed with the squadron on the expedition to

[1] Only portions of this reply are quoted in "Personal Records of Captain Hayes," at the India Office. His answers to many of the points raised by Burr have not been preserved.

Ternate and to afford the most cordial and vigorous co-operation with the land forces under Colonel Burr.[1]

Thus ended a regrettable dispute which lasted over a period of four years. It seems to have been the outcome of a mistake in the first instance as to what were the precise limits of Hayes's authority, and it gradually developed into a jealous quarrel between two men of strong character and fiery temperament.

[1] Examiner's Office, July, 1805.

CHAPTER XV

RETURNS HOME: IS PROMOTED: JAVA

Hayes brings his family to Calcutta—He commands a squadron—Promoted Commodore—Hayes goes on leave to England—The Court of Directors rewards his services—Deputy Master Attendant at Calcutta—Promoted Senior Captain—He returns to Calcutta—His activities there—The Java Expedition of 1811—Hayes commands the Company's ships—Questions of jealousy and recognition—1802–1811.

THROUGHOUT Hayes's absence from India in 1801–1802 Mrs. Hayes took up her residence at Bombay with her two children, the second of whom, Helen Kezia, was born on September 22nd, 1799. This daughter afterwards married James Henry Crawford of the Bombay Civil Service.[1]

While her husband was serving in the Moluccas, Mrs. Hayes found it necessary to apply to the authorities of the Bombay Marine for some of his pay on its becoming due, the long delay in transmitting it to and from Amboyna being inconvenient to her.[2] Probably at this period of her

[1] The marriage took place on January 1st, 1816, at Bombay, the Rev. N. Wade performing the ceremony. Mrs. Crawford died at Calcutta, October 23rd, 1837.

[2] Lieutenant Low possibly meant to allude to this circumstance when he mentions that she suffered financial worry during her husband's absence in Van Diemen's Land. He is, however, mistaken as to the date when Mrs. Hayes needed monetary help, for he writes of it as happening in 1793, when, in fact, their marriage had not taken place, and when it is not even certain that Hayes had met his future wife.

married life, through no fault of her husband, Mrs. Hayes often found herself in want of money.

Hayes returned to India from Ternate in the month of September, 1802, and left Calcutta in the following March to join his wife and family at Bombay. He arrived there on April 30th, 1803, after an absence of two years and a half from the Presidency. He was not allowed to remain long without a ship, being appointed in July, 1803, by the Governor-General to the *Bombay* frigate already referred to. Taking his family on board her he sailed from Bombay to Calcutta, where, for the future, Mrs. Hayes was to make her home.[1]

Soon afterwards an important post was given to Hayes, which more forcibly than his exploits brought home to the merchants in India his brilliance as a naval commander. The short cessation of hostilities after the Peace of Amiens, that had given back to the Dutch their possessions in the Moluccas, was used by Napoleon for the purpose of strengthening his arms on sea and land. When war was again declared by England, the authorities in India caused a squadron to be equipped primarily "for the defence of the Roads and the Bay of Bengal," placing it in charge of Captain Hayes. It was composed of the *Bombay* frigate, 38 guns; *Mornington*, 22 guns; *Teignmouth*, 16 guns; and the armed cruiser *Castlereagh*. Hayes re-hoisted his flag on the *Bombay*, and the fleet was despatched by the Indian.

[1] The *Calcutta Gazette*, August 11th, 1803, records the arrival of Captain and Mrs. Hayes.

Government, to protect the trade routes in the Bay of Bengal and in adjacent waters. So well did Hayes carry out his orders that while he was in command of the squadron not a single British merchant ship was ever captured within the limits of his cruise.[1] He showed as much activity in guarding the Company's interests at a distance as he did nearer home, and re-captured from a native Rajah the Fort of Muckie on the coast of Sumatra. Formerly a settlement of the East India Company, it had been lost through the treachery of the Malay inhabitants.

In order to impress these people, who had over and over again betrayed the English, Hayes for three days cannonaded three of their principal batteries, landed at the head of two divisions of picked seamen from the *Bombay* and *Castlereagh*, and took possession of the Fort, which with supporting batteries he caused to be dismantled. Sixty-seven guns and a quantity of stores were captured and forwarded to Mr. Ewer, the British Resident at Bencoolen. This port belonged to England, but was afterwards given up to the Dutch in exchange for Malacca.[2]

From the date of his appointment to the *Bombay* frigate Captain Hayes continued steadily to win distinction. He was now granted the temporary rank of Commodore [3] by the Supreme

[1] Cf. Obituary notice, *India Gazette*, 1831.

[2] Malacca had been previously taken by the English, but had been restored to the Dutch at the time of the Peace of Amiens.

[3] "Bengal Public Service Records," July 4th, 1805.

Government with a salary of 1200 rupees a month.

The ship was not returned to the Bombay Establishment, but was taken over by the Royal Navy at the request of the British Admiral on the station. In consequence, Commodore Hayes was permitted to proceed to Europe on leave, and was recommended to the special notice of the Court of Directors.

Before he gave up the command of his ship Commodore and Mrs. Hayes journeyed together in her from Calcutta to Bombay, in May, 1805, where apparently the frigate was handed over to the British naval authorities. After hauling down his flag the Commodore returned with his wife to Calcutta, and began to make their preparations for the voyage to Europe. The ship in which they embarked with their family as passengers on November 30th, was the *General Stewart*, an extra ship of the Honourable Company, but unfortunately far from being seaworthy. She sailed from Saugor Roads for England in company with the *Carmarthen* and several other vessels, and soon after leaving port sprang a serious leak, which must have caused every one on board anxiety, not excepting such a seasoned seaman as Hayes himself. At one time she was making as much as fifteen inches of water per hour, so that on reaching Bencoolen she had to be lightened, while carpenters and caulkers from the *Carmarthen* and from the Residency came on board to patch her up. In spite of the long

delay at Bencoolen, much time being spent in sheathing and coppering the ship, the leak was not entirely stopped, and the pumps had to be kept going the whole way to England. However, Commodore and Mrs. Hayes reached England safely, for on June 12th, 1806, they left the *General Stewart* in the Downs, landing at Portsmouth.

On coming to London, Hayes was received by the Court of Directors, who appointed him to be Deputy Master Attendant at Calcutta as a reward for his arduous services, and also designated him to succeed as Master Attendant [1] at the death or resignation of the present Master without prejudice to his rank or station in the Bombay Marine.

For some time, at least, he and his family took up their residence in Manchester Street, where, on September 25th, 1807, another daughter was born.[2] She was christened Eliza, or Elizabeth, and in after years became the wife of John Grant of the Bengal Medical Service. She died in London during the 'nineties, having outlived her brothers and sisters.

While Hayes was in England his portrait was painted by John Opie.[3] Hayes must have sat for it in 1806, or at the beginning of 1807, shortly before the artist's death. Opie had painted Captain Hamilton, also an officer in the East

[1] The Master Attendant took rank and precedence immediately after the Superintendent of Marine.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1807.

[3] A reproduction of which forms the frontispiece of this volume.

India Company's service, and it may have been due to that circumstance that Hayes and Opie became acquainted. It is possible, however, that Hayes knew Opie in another way, for on Hayes's chart of Tasmania the name "Pindar's Peak" is given to a mountain situated westward of D'Entrecasteaux's Channel, Peter Pindar (Dr. Wolcot) being, of course, Opie's friend and patron. The mountain received its name in 1793, and one cannot help wondering whether Hayes was intimate with Dr. Wolcot before he went to India, and for that reason bestowed the name he was best known by upon the mountain. The place-names given by Hayes were as a rule chosen to honour his friends or comrades. His portrait is not mentioned among the known pictures of Opie, but there seems no doubt as to its genuineness, as Hayes's descendants received their knowledge concerning it from Lady Hayes herself, who was with her husband in England when the portrait was painted. The original is now the property of Hayes's great-grandson, Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, I.M.S. At the time he sat for it Hayes was about forty years of age. In it he looks a younger man than the photogravure depicts him, the colouring, which of course does not appear in the reproduction, somewhat softening his features and deepening the expression in his eyes, which are blue. His hair and complexion are fair. The wound in his cheek, which it is said was ever very noticeable in life, is not visible in the picture. His uniform is of fine blue cloth with buff facings.

In the November following, Hayes was promoted to the rank of a Senior Captain in the Bombay Marine. About six months later, after a stay of two years in England, he went back to Calcutta with his wife and children. Mrs. Hayes had many relatives at home, and probably she would have liked to have remained longer, but Hayes's leave had well-nigh expired and he had important duties awaiting him in India. His return voyage was made in the Honourable Company's *Bengal*, Captain Sharp, with his wife and three daughters.

On his arrival at Calcutta, Hayes at once commenced his duties as Deputy Master Attendant, which he fulfilled until April 15th, 1809, when upon the resignation of Mr. Cudbert Thornhill he succeeded to the rank of Master Attendant at Fort William and was also appointed to a seat upon the Marine Board.

Hayes now resided permanently at the Bankshall House,[1] the Marine House known by that name which stood with the Master Attendant's office on the site now occupied by the Small Cause Court. The Bankshall House was partially rebuilt during Hayes's tenure of it, and it was a

[1] Bankshall was an old native term adopted by foreign traders to India. Bankshall, S.—a warehouse; the office of a Harbour Master. Crawfurd takes it to be the Malay word Bangsal, defined by him in his Malay Dictionary thus: Jav. a shed; but as far back as 1623 we find P. della Valle, ii. 465, writing: "And on the place by the sea there was a custom house which the Persians in their language call Banksel, a building of no great size with some outer porticoes." (*See* Hobson Jobson.) It seems to have been a word long in use in Eastern countries to describe a warehouse or custom house.

very spacious residence. Here he and Mrs. Hayes were destined to live for many years ; they became well-known members of society in Calcutta and made numberless friends and acquaintances. At the Bankshall House was born on January 9th, 1818, their only son, Fletcher Fulton Compton Hayes, who was nominated to the Indian Army at the early age of thirteen. At sixteen he joined the Military Seminary at Addiscombe, and was commissioned as ensign a year later, his regiment being the 62nd Bengal Native Infantry, but he was employed chiefly in the Political Department. He arrived at Fort William on July 23rd, 1836, and took part in several engagements, acting as A.D.C. to Sir Hugh Gough at the battle of Maharajpur in 1843, when he was mentioned in despatches. On returning again to England on leave in 1846 he graduated B.A. at Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford, and after he went back to India had the honorary distinction of M.A. conferred upon him by the University. In 1847 he married a daughter of General Torrens, by whom he had several children. He met his death during the dark days of the Indian Mutiny at Kara Oli, while serving as Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence. Having volunteered to carry out an important duty, he was among the first to be shot down by the mutineers on June 1st, 1857. Sir John Kaye's "History of the Indian Mutiny" describes him as "a man of great capacity and of great courage, in the prime of his life, and at the height of his daring, . . . and an

CAPTAIN FLETCHER HAYES.

[*From a painting in the possession of Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.*

erudite scholar." Two years after his death his "Synopsis of the Grammar of Modern Arabic" was published in Calcutta, Bombay, and also in London.[1]

It contained, according to a printed description on the title-page, "Peu de règles, beaucoup de reflexions et encore plus d'usage." Captain Fletcher Hayes was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, Manipuri, North West Province, where his mother erected a monument over his grave.

Among the improvements in the Marine at Calcutta for the furtherance and execution of which Commodore Hayes had been appointed by the Court of Directors to his post, were :—

(1) The establishment of pilots at fixed allowances to be paid by the Company, for which they were to be reimbursed out of a pilotage to be levied at fixed rates on the trade ;

(2) The placing of mooring chains for the Honourable Company's row-boats and buoys where required in the harbour ;

(3) The erection of lighthouses on Point Palmiras and Saugor Islands ;

(4) The construction of reservoirs for the supply of fresh water to the shipping ;

(5) The institution of anchorage fees and various improvements in the sale of marine stores.

The Master Attendant did not, however, confine his activities to the measures enumerated.

[1] The London publishers were Messrs. W. Thacker and Co., Newgate Street.

It was by his advice that the Bankshall House was repaired, and old and unsightly buildings in its neighbourhood pulled down, the establishment reduced and pensions granted to old Lascars who were past work. The old dock also was filled up and the space between it and the Bankshall levelled,[1] cattle no longer being allowed to be driven over the embankments at Diamond Harbour. It was also on Hayes's recommendation that Europeans in the pilot service were ordered to wear a uniform instead of the dress of an ordinary dock labourer.

In spite of the expenditure occasioned by these reforms during the first six years that he held the office of Master Attendant, Hayes effected a saving of some £75,000 in its working expenses alone. His energy and ability found scope in every direction, the improvements which he carried out adding greatly to the comfort of the public and to the cleanliness of the city.

In 1811 Hayes once more saw active service. Lord Minto having determined to undertake the conquest of Java, a squadron of the Honourable Company's ships in company with British men-of-war was equipped in order to convoy the transports. The Bombay Marine supplied eight ships, including two fine cruisers—the *Malabar*, 20 guns, Captain Maxfield; and the *Mornington*, 22 guns, Captain Robert Deane; with the *Aurora*, *Nautilus*, *Vestal*, *Ariel*, *Thetis*, and *Psyche*. Commodore Hayes, who was placed in command, hoisted

[1] Examiner's Office, March 22nd, 1817.

THE JAVA FLEET AT HIGH ISLANDS.

his broad pennant on board the *Malabar* on Sunday, March 26th, joining her in Saugor Roads on March 31st.

The Java expedition left India in several divisions. The one which sailed from Bengal under the escort of H.M.S. *Cornelia* and the Honourable Company's cruiser *Malabar* made Penang on April 30th, and departed almost immediately for Malacca, where it was joined by the Madras contingent. Lord Minto, in H.M.S. *Modeste,* arrived there on May 18th, and Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary forces, in H.M.S. *Akbar,* followed him into the port ten days later. During their stay at Malacca King George's birthday was kept, and at the dinner given by Lord Minto to the officers, among the formal toasts was one in honour of "Commodore Hayes, Captain Ramsden, and the shipping." At Malacca H.M.S. *Illustrious,* with Commodore Broughton on board, joined the fleet. After her arrival a notice was issued to the various commanders to the effect that no broad pennant would be allowed to fly on any other ship.[1] This was one of many orders issued throughout the campaign which caused heart-burnings among the officers of the Indian Marine. The fact that Hayes resented having to haul down his flag can be easily understood, for his pride in the service to which he belonged amounted almost to a passion, and Lord Minto openly sympathised with him.

[1] Broughton afterwards left the *Illustrious* and hoisted his flag on H.M.S. *Akbar.*

The squadron on leaving Malacca continued its voyage in divisions as before, the *Malabar* sailing in company with H.M.S. *Bucephalus* and several transports on June 17th. The vessels rounded the "Rabbit and Coney," steered through the Straits of Singapore, and came to an anchorage off High Islands. Their next rendezvous was Point Sambur on the south-west coast of Borneo, where Sir Samuel Auchmuty assembled the whole of his forces, and from there they sailed to Java. As Hayes was proceeding with several of the Company's ships through the Straits of Gaspar, where many years before the *Duke of Clarence* had been chased by a French privateer, two large Chinese junks were met making their way from Batavia to Amoy laden with Dutch merchandise of the richest description and valued at no less than £600,000 sterling.[1] Batavia being then in a state of blockade, the junks were considered fair prizes by the commanders of the *Malabar* and the *Mornington*, who captured them. Captain Maxfield and Captain Deane proposed to send the vessels at once to Penang for condemnation, but Commodore Hayes refused his consent to the proposition because he believed the Government of China at that time was seeking every pretext to embarrass the East India Company's commercial transactions at Canton. He therefore thought that if the captured junks were detained it would furnish the Chinese with the very excuse they were looking for. He therefore felt called upon to direct Maxfield and Deane

[1] Low, "History of the Indian Navy."

to withdraw the prize-masters and crews from the junks, and to allow them to proceed to their destination. Hayes at the same time informed his officers that he was aware of the great sacrifice they were making, and congratulated himself that they knew well how to "appreciate the acquisition of wealth when placed in competition with the interests of their employers and of their country." Such disinterestedness on the part of the Commodore will also in no small degree testify to his own character, for it was a quality that accompanied his actions through the whole of his life.

His highest aim seems to have been to serve his employers loyally and faithfully when and wherever he was engaged. Nor did he ever enrich himself at their expense.

On reaching Java, Sir Samuel Auchmuty began to land his army on August 4th at the village of Chillenching, twelve miles east of Batavia: the *Leda* frigate protected its disembarkation to the left while Hayes's squadron lay to the right of the landing place.

As considerable opposition to the British was expected here, Hayes issued the following order to the Honourable Company's ships:

"The *Malabar* is to be run ashore broadside in order to allow Commodore Hayes an opportunity of taking the station to which he is entitled. All the Honourable Company's vessels of war are to get as close as possible in shore in order to protect the troops. The Commodore intends to be first on the enemy's shores, and directs the gig to be

provided for such service. Captain Maxfield will attend to the orders issued respecting the landing of ammunition." These orders were partially annulled by others issued by Broughton, and Hayes did not take that part in the disembarkation which he looked upon as his right. In consequence there followed a long and painful correspondence with the British naval authorities, in which Commodore Hayes received the warm support of the Indian Government.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty resolved first to explore the road to Batavia and then to attack the town itself. But no sooner had he landed than flames were seen rising high above the city, and it was concluded that Janssens, the Governor-General, had evacuated it. The English, under Colonel Gillespie, however, on advancing inland, in order to gain possession of the capital, encountered the outposts of the enemy, and skirmishes occurred during the night, though the opposition was not very serious. In the meantime Janssens had posted himself at Weltevreede, only three miles distant from Batavia. On the 7th August British troops crossed the Anjol River. The bridge had been destroyed, but the infantry passed over by means of a bridge of boats constructed by the seamen of the Royal Navy and of the Honourable Company's vessels under Captain Sayer's orders. Next day Sir Samuel Auchmuty sent his aides-de-camp to Batavia summoning the burghers to surrender to the British forces, which they did, and the same evening Colonel Gillespie took

formal possession of the city. Janssens made an attempt to regain it, but was repulsed, and on the 10th Gillespie challenged him again at Weltevreede. Finding himself beaten Janssens retired to Cornelis, a camp between two rivers strongly entrenched and defended by numerous redoubts.

Meanwhile, Admiral Stopford, who had arrived on August 9th, had taken supreme command of the naval forces. The surrender of Batavia, and the successes that preceded the siege of Cornelis belong rather to the annals of the Army than to those of the Navy. Nevertheless, the seamen of the different ships rendered valuable aid in many ways to the sister service throughout the struggle; and when Janssens retired to Cornelis, the officers and crews of the squadron rendered material assistance in working the batteries and in building fortifications round this strongly defended post. In the work both the officers and crews of the Honourable Company's ships of war took a large part, and were almost incessantly employed day and night under Commodore Hayes.

The lines in front of Fort Cornelis were at length forced, the fort itself taken and the greater part of the enemy's army killed, taken or dispersed, upwards of five thousand men and between three and four hundred officers being captured, Janssens himself escaping with difficulty. During the fight Hayes offered to storm the redoubt of Cornelis with one hundred seamen. Sir Samuel Auchmuty thanked him for his spirited offer, but

replied that there were already too many military competitors for the honour.

Hearing that Janssens, who had fled to the eastward, intended to make a stand at Samarang, Sir Samuel proceeded there on September 9th and was joined by Admiral Stopford, while Commodore Hayes with the Honourable Company's ships remained in charge of the Roads at Batavia and of the adjoining coasts. On September 18th Janssens surrendered Java and all its dependencies to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, and a little later Surabaya, Timor, Macassar, and other places made their submission.

Hayes's commission was not to end without some vexations besides those already referred to. What have been described as "petty feelings of jealousy" caused unpleasantness between the officers of the Royal Navy and those of the Indian Marine, for which Lieutenant Low especially blames Commodore Broughton, R.N. In that writer's opinion, the vessels of the Indian Marine, although fairly entitled to a share of the credit gained by the naval forces engaged, received no mention in the naval despatches which were sent home.

It is a fact also that, for some reason or other, the names of officers serving in the Indian Navy were omitted by the Home authorities from the lists of honours bestowed upon those who had distinguished themselves in Eastern waters, feeling running high in India when the lists were published. The people of the presidencies, not without

reason, were proud of the brave men who patrolled their trade routes and effectually guarded their coasts. A well-known writer [1] says of the Indian Navy of that period :—

"It did all the dirty, most of the scientific, and much of the dangerous work. But when laurels were to be gained in the days of the great wars a Royal squadron was generally at hand to gather them, and John Company's seamen fell into the background in the despatches when they had not been unfrequently in the van of action. On the other hand, when lessor fry than a French fleet had to be fought or laborious services to be undertaken, it was the Company's squadron that exterminated pirates, convoyed shipping and charted pestilential coasts. They were the pioneers and police of Indian waters, patrolled the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, oftentimes proceeding on duty to Burmah, Java, and China."

Java being conquered, on October 31st, Hayes, who had hoisted his flag on board the *Aurora*, returned to India and, accompanied by the *Fleetwood* transport, arrived at Kedgeree early in January, 1812.

[1] H. Compton, "Under John Company's Flag; Britain's Sea Kings and Sea Fights."

CHAPTER XVI

COMMODORE AND MRS. HAYES AT THE BANKSHALL

Commodore and Mrs. Hayes enjoy social life at Fort William—The launch of the *Hastings*—Hayes and Mr. Barnard—Hayes loses his seat on the Marine Board—A Fancy-dress Ball at Bankshall—1811–1820.

On his return from Java, Commodore Hayes resumed his post as Master Attendant at Fort William. Although his numerous duties kept him busy at the Bankshall, he found leisure enough to be a very useful citizen and to attend to local affairs. Sometimes he took the chair at a meeting held in the Town Hall by the parishioners, to discuss matters connected with the vestry of St. John's Cathedral, or presented a petition in person to the Governor on their behalf, or attended Divine Service in the cathedral on St. John the Evangelist's Day with members of "the ancient fraternity of Freemasons" composing the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal.

Hayes had always been an energetic Freemason. He held prominent posts in the Grand Lodge of Calcutta, of which he was afterwards Worshipful Grand Master. There is to-day in the possession of one of his great-grandchildren, Mr. George Law, a large old-fashioned Bible which he presented to this Lodge. It bears the inscription:

"From Commodore Hayes, Junior Warden to the Grand Lodge of India, December 27th, 1813." After his death the Lodge gave the book to his widow as a memento of him (then a not unusual custom), and it has since descended as a valued heirloom.

In his official capacity Hayes occupied himself in various ways. As Master of the port, at the head of his seamen, he directed salvage operations and aided vessels in distress, accompanied Lady Moira, or other notable personages on their departure for Europe, and witnessed the launching of vessels built in one or other of the Calcutta dockyards. A launch was looked upon as a great event by the residents, who flocked in large numbers to the Bankshall to watch the new ship take the water.

One of the most memorable recorded is that of the *Hastings*, the first launch strictly so called to take place in India, all the warships built at Bombay before this date having been merely floated out of dock. On January 8th, 1818, the day of the ceremony, the whole river was *en fête*. On one side of the dockyard the dwelling-house of the builders, its verandah, its terraces, and the seats temporarily erected in front of it, were thronged with a gay company representing the "youth and beauty" of Calcutta. In the spacious sail-loft on the other side of the dock there was a similar gathering. The yard in the vicinity of the ship was also densely crowded. Here a number of Indian princes of high rank had assembled,

who gazed curiously at the latest example of European skill in their midst.

On the previous day most of the shores had been removed from the ship. At half-past two in the afternoon the dog-shores were knocked away. The Honourable the Vice-President, bestowed upon her the name of *Hastings*, and the vessel began to move. She entered the water with great rapidity, which gradually diminished as she dropped in the river and her anchor brought her up. Amidst the greatest enthusiasm, the guns of a Portuguese ship on one side and those of the yard on the other sent forth a royal salute. In the absence of Mr. Palmer, Commodore Hayes presided at the tiffin that followed, when many toasts were given, of course including one in honour of the new ship.

Fifteen months before, a ship of 673 tons burthen, built in the yard of Messrs. Kyd & Co., at Sulkean, had been named *Commodore Hayes* in honour of the Master Attendant. She proved a very useful ship, and among many voyages she made one to New South Wales in 1821, when she landed the headquarters' staff of the 3rd Regiment (The Buffs) at Sydney. A smaller vessel launched at Calcutta was afterwards named in honour of Lady Hayes.

In 1820, in consequence of his own deliberate wilfulness, Hayes's successful career received a check. He had dismissed from his post Mr. Barnard, an official at Fort William, who afterwards appealed to the Marine Board. While the

affair was being discussed by the Board, of which Hayes was himself a member, some of his colleagues ventured to criticise his actions adversely; and this so angered him, that not only did he lose his temper at the meeting, but on several other occasions he publicly indulged in "intemperate sallies" at the expense of those who had dared to criticise him. He even went further and made offensive remarks concerning them in his official communications to the Government, with the result that he was warned that he must not repeat such expressions. It would seem, however, that in spite of cautions from his friends on the Board, and from the Court of Directors, Hayes refused to recede from the position in which he had placed himself, and eventually he was removed from his seat on the Marine Board.

While Commodore and Mrs. Hayes were in residence at the Bankshall House their hospitality was unbounded. In fact, their home was "open house" to the marine officers and their wives. The "Master Attendant and his lady" may be truly said to have won popularity and good will amongst those in whose midst they lived, and whose welfare and interests were theirs.

In 1823, Mrs. Hayes gave a masked ball for their numerous friends in Calcutta, which appears to have been a social event of unusual importance.

Shortly after nine o'clock on Thursday evening, January 9th, the different avenues leading to the Bankshall House were so crowded with vehicles that it was no easy matter to squeeze into the

house. The great rooms and the staircase were brilliantly lighted, and the terrace in front tastefully laid out; flags of all kinds were arranged so as to form a canopy overhead, while the sides were covered in, in order to give it the appearance of a long corridor at the end of which was a theatre. The roof of this impromptu playhouse was supported by pillars wreathed with evergreens and garlands of evergreen.

The host and hostess as usual exerted themselves to the utmost to entertain their guests, among whom were Turks, lawyers, devils, tailors, Punches, and Spaniards. Queen Elizabeth came escorted by Essex and attended by beef-eaters, her splendid crown, golden sceptre and gorgeous hooped dress being greatly admired. Essex was arrayed in a Spanish suit of sables and gold, and we are told that the Yeomen of the Guard looked "as if they had just started living from the golden canvas of an old-time artist."

It seems a pity that for the sake of the revellers' descendants the names of those who figured in the quadrilles and country dances should not have been placed on record. The company, however, included His Excellency Sir Edward Paget and Lady H. Paget, Sir Sainford Whittingham and many other distinguished guests.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BURMESE WAR, 1824

War declared—Commodore Hayes commands the naval forces—The storming of Mungdoo—Attack on Chamballa—Fighting at Mahattie, Arakan River and Pass—The taking of Arakan, Ramree, and Sandoway—Military recognition of Hayes's services.

THE quiet interval that Hayes spent with his family at the Bankshall ended when the Burmese war began in 1824 and he was drawn once more to the battle-field. Skirmishings on the eastern frontier had long provoked the Indian authorities, and now the elephant hunters employed south of Chittagong were held to ransom by the Burmese, who also laid claim to the small island of Shapuri at the estuary of the River Naaf. Growing still more provocative, and paying no heed to remonstrances, the British formally declared war against them on March 5th, 1824.

Eleven thousand men were assembled at Calcutta and Madras under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell. Part of this force operated in Assam under General McMorine, and part in Cachar under General Shuldam, while Campbell, with six thousand men, occupied Rangoon. The difficulties encountered by Campbell during the rainy season were so great that the British Government determined to annex Arakan and to assist

him by penetrating to Ava through that province. In order to do this, in September another army of eleven thousand men was assembled at Chittagong under General Morrison, to be despatched by land and sea to Arakan. The naval force was placed under the control of Commodore Hayes, who for the time being resigned his post of Master Attendant in order to proceed on active service.

Morrison arrived at Chittagong and assumed command on September 5th, while Hayes left Calcutta on October 25th for Coxe's Bazar, a town seventy miles east by south of Chittagong, and his appointed rendezvous with Morrison. His fleet consisted of the *Vestal, Research, Investigator*—all of ten guns; the gun-brigs *Helen, Henry Meriton, Planet, Sophia,* and *Asseerghur,* the *Trusty* ketch and the steamboat *Pluto.*[1] Soon after his arrival an epidemic broke out among his officers, and Hayes himself was taken ill. Growing gradually worse in December, he was compelled to return to Calcutta. His enforced departure from Chittagong at such an important time was universally deplored there, so great was the trust reposed in him by all ranks. His past services were remembered, and it was well known that his attention was always directed to things, their weight and consequence, and that about persons

[1] Ten pinnaces and eight divisions of gunboats accompanied the ships of each division, carrying a 12-pounder. There were in addition tenders and transports and country boats, many being specially adapted to explore shallow waters. Besides their crews the vessels carried a force of about six hundred marines.

MAP OF ARAKAN.

[*From Arrowsmith's Atlas.*

he concerned himself but little. The whole Presidency therefore looked forward anxiously to his restoration to health.

Morrison's advance was impeded by the same difficulties as had confronted Campbell. The country, thinly-peopled and overrun with jungle, afforded no resources. Stores, provisions, and cattle had necessarily to be brought from a distance with much labour and expense. The protracted rainy season also retarded the making of a military road from Chittagong to the Naaf, and it was the end of January before the troops and transports assembled in the vicinity of Coxe's Bazar.

Recovering from his indisposition, Hayes left Calcutta on January 6th and joined Morrison at the rendezvous. Morrison had determined to march to the Naaf estuary by way of the coast and keep in touch with Hayes, believing that the ships would insure him supplies and transport. He arrived at Tek Naaf (or the Point of Naaf) on February 1st, when orders were issued to the troops to hold themselves in readiness to attack Mungdoo, a stockaded town on the Burmese shore which stood facing Tek Naaf.

On the following day, therefore, the embarkation began at five o'clock in the morning, and by eight all were safely on board the boats and rafts. When Morrison's forces landed on the eastern shore of the Naaf the Burmese hastily retreated, abandoning stores of grain, some war boats, and a small ship still on the stocks. The

British pursued for some distance, but the Burmese, possessing greater knowledge of the country, were soon lost in the forest.

Notwithstanding every exertion, Morrison was unable to quit Mungdoo before the 12th of the month. From Mungdoo a road led by Lawadong to Arakan, and by this route the Burmese made their retreat to the latter place. Acting on the principles first adopted, however, the land column advanced to the Meyu River, which it reached without difficulty on February 22nd. Hayes's ships were not so lucky. They encountered a squall on the 17th, and the gunboats conveying His Majesty's 54th Regiment were compelled to return to Mungdoo. Seven boats, containing native troops, were also scattered and driven on shore, but fortunately without any loss of life. No inconvenience, beyond further delay, was experienced from this disaster, and the detachment was speedily re-embarked and reached the river in safety.

Upon arriving at the Meyu greater difficulties were experienced than those met with at the Naaf. The mouth of the river was about five miles broad. It was separated by the island of Akyab, scarcely twelve miles from the mouth of the Arakan River, which expanded into an estuary above ten miles in breadth. At a short distance from the mouth of the Meyu a creek running north of Akyab formed a communication between the two streams opposite to a similar channel, which led to the spot chosen for the encampment,

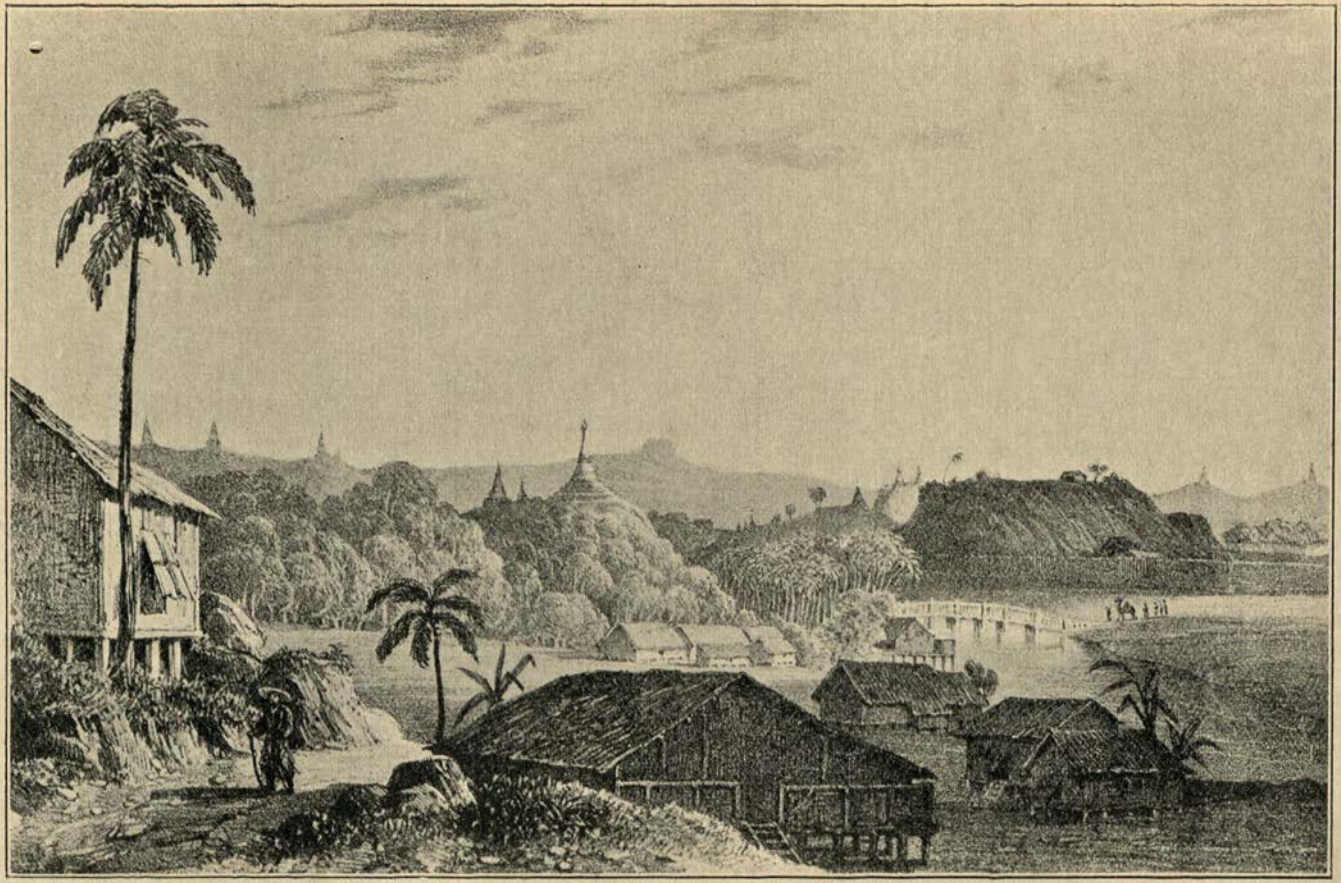
Chang Krein Island. The gunboats, with other boats and rafts having joined on February 27th, the force was transported across the Meyu and along the waterways to the island, where a sufficient force was collected for a forward movement. From Chang Krein the main body was advanced on March 20th to Kray Kingdong, with the right wing pushed forward for some five miles in order to cover the working parties employed in rendering the nullahs passable. The left remained in possession at Chang Krein threatening Chamballa, a stockade situated about half a mile from Arakan, which had been strongly fortified by the Burmese in order to defend the capital.

Meanwhile, on February 22nd, Commodore Hayes, with his fleet, had entered the Arakan River. He was then informed that the principal Mugh chieftains were confined at Chamballa. The chieftains had previously shown great friendliness to the British, and concluding their liberation would prove of great service to the advancing army, Hayes determined to rescue them. His ships sighted Chamballa on the 23rd at 2 p.m. As they came within range of the enemy's works. a heavy fire was turned upon the *Gunga Saugor* and *Vestal*, the foremost vessels. The *Research*, with Hayes on board, immediately came to their aid, and when within half-pistol shot commenced a heavy cannonade and musketry fire, which was returned by the enemy with great regularity and spirit. On ranging to the northern end of the stockade with the intent to allow the other

vessels to come into action and to flank it, the commodore found his ship raked by another battery and stockade, of which he had no previous information. The strength of Chamballa was, therefore, more considerable than had been anticipated, and it was subsequently ascertained that the garrison numbered no less than three thousand men, who were commanded by the son of the Rajah of Arakan.

After a severe engagement of three hours' duration the tide compelled Commodore Hayes to wear round and drop down the river, and in doing this, four ships, the *Research*, *Asseerghur*, *Asia Felix*, and *Isabella*, took the ground, and remained fast for several hours near the batteries. The Burmese evidently had had enough fighting, for they made no attempt to fire or molest them. There were many casualties on the British side, and Major Schalch, a distinguished officer, who had joined Commodore Hayes at the Naaf, lost his life. He was wounded while watching the effect of the bombardment beside the Commodore, and fell into his arms. His death took place on the morning of the 25th, and he was buried at sea with military honours. Captain Bellew, of the staff, remarks that during the attack "the old Commodore was a genuine heart of oak, as brave as a lion, time not having reduced the temperature of his blood much below boiling-point."

Chamballa was afterwards deserted by the enemy, who fled to Arakan, and the stockade was occupied by Mr. Higgins, one of Hayes's officers,



THE TOWN OF ARAKAN.

a detachment of the flotilla having been left for that purpose. The arrangements for moving the land forces being completed, Morrison advanced on March 24th. The route lay along the eastern bank of a branch of the Arakan River, and was directed against the south-eastern defences of Arakan. Nullahs intersected every few miles of the country, communicating at right angles with the main stream. There were occasional ridges of low hills running parallel to the nullahs.

On the evening of the same day the army encamped. The 25th was occupied in preparing to cross two nullahs beyond which were situated the Padho hills, where it was believed the enemy were posted. Having left the nullahs behind, at daybreak on the morning of the 26th the forces were formed into four columns, the right under Brigadier Grant, the centre led by Brigadier Richards, the left by Captain Leslie, and the reserve by Lieut.-Colonel Walker. The left column proceeded up the main branch of the river, but, the boats grounding, the men were landed in order to turn the hills on the enemy's right. The main body, consisting of the right and centre columns, moved upon the passes that led through the range.

No appearance of the Burmese was discernible amid the forests, the presence of armed men being only indicated by the occasional beating of a gong or the report of a single gingal at distant intervals. At last, however, a wild irregular shout announced the hostile force, to dislodge which

the light companies moved along the heights. They carried several entrenched posts, while below, a column proceeding in a parallel direction cleared an unfinished stockade and left the road open.

The passes thus gained, the army crossed an extensive plain skirted by jungle and favourable to the escape of flying Burmans, who at one point resisted in formidable numbers, but were forced to resume their retreat. On the morning of the 27th, after a fog had dispersed, the advance was resumed, and the enemy fled, before the British, in the direction of Arakan.

After making his way up the river from Chamballa, Hayes came in touch with Morrison at Mahattie, a fortified post situated near Arakan, designed to protect the city. Entrenchments and strong stockades bristled along the banks, while the hills in the rear were crowned with fortified pagodas. To Hayes's disappointment, the river was too shallow to allow his ships to get within range of the enemy's defences. So he joined Morrison, landing with a naval brigade composed of the crews of the gunboats, some two hundred and fifty strong, who satisfactorily surmounted the difficulty of dragging the heavy guns over the rough country to the British general's encampment. The ammunition was carried on the men's shoulders.

On the morning of March 29th a cold drenching fog hung in the air, as in a long shivering line regiment after regiment moved off from Mahattie to storm the defences of Arakan a couple of miles

away. The naval brigade, dragging their heavy guns, brought up the rear.

The land defences proved to be a series of stockades carried along the crest of a range of hills some 400 feet high, running parallel with the town, extending beyond it, and strengthened by escarpments and masonry where possible. One pass alone at the northern end led through the hills to the capital, and that was defended by several pieces of artillery and about three thousand muskets. The ground in front was a long narrow valley entirely clear of underwood, and in depth wholly out of range of the Burmese guns. A belt of jungle partly screened the advance, and a sheet of water served as a natural fosse, but above these the ground was again clear and open not only to the fire of the defenders, but to the huge stones which they hurled at their assailants who tried to scale the summit. Up this open declivity Morrison marched his men. The attack was a failure owing to the well-directed fire and the incessant rain of stones which rolled down upon the troops as they neared the top of the pass.

The direct attack having failed, Morrison set about the problem in a more reasonable manner. Next day Hayes threw up a breastwork for the two 24-pounders his men had dragged with so much labour through the jungle, and proceeded to cannonade the works commanding the pass. That night a storming party under Brigadier Richards, including a detachment of the naval brigade, silently crept up a narrow precipitous

path in single file. All went well until a shot from the hill proclaimed that the enemy had discovered the advance. The whole camp was on foot in a moment. A yell or two from the Burmese was followed by a short, sharp rattle of musketry, and then the drums and fifes of the detachment announced that the post was carried even before the rockets gave the signal of success. Again, next morning Hayes brought the naval guns into action. A 6-pounder dragged up the hill by his men was turned upon the enemy. Then a general assault followed, from which the Burmese fled without delay, and the capital of Arakan became a British possession.

The town, built in the form of a square, with the fort in the north-east corner, consisted of three concentric walls with intervening spaces. Its whole circumference was nearly nine miles, and the stone walls of its gateways were of great solidity. It was said to contain eighteen thousand houses, but Morrison found that half of these had been destroyed.

Two of the four provinces being cleared of the enemy, General McBean, in co-operation with Hayes, went forth to dislodge them from Sandoway and Ramree, the staff sailing in the *Osprey*. On April 17th the detachment embarked in the flotilla under Hayes at the mouth of the river and anchored on the evening of the 18th within three miles of Chebuda. The fleet obtained a supply of water at Low Island,[1] and next day the troops

[1] McBean's despatches, *Bombay Courier*, June 11th, 1825.

SANDOWAY, ARAKAN.

were landed. The numerous rows of stakes planted in Ramree creek were so formidable that the sailors spent two hours in clearing a passage for the boats. McBean and Hayes joined forces and marched together to Ramree. The town was occupied by the troops on the 22nd without opposition. Hayes, in his official report, dated from Pondoo Prang Plains, Arakan,[1] thus eulogises his men: "I have every reason to be proud of the gallantry and good conduct of every officer and man under my command with the Arakan army. Lieutenant Armstrong has invariably distinguished himself ever since the flotilla left Coxe's Bazar."

McBean gave great credit to the Commodore for his help upon all occasions, in his despatches, dated April 2nd, as did General Morrison.[2]

After leaving Ramree the naval and military forces proceeded against Sandoway. They reached the entrance of the river of that name on April 28th,[3] and the boats conveying the troops sailed up it for eight miles. Commodore Hayes, in the *Osprey*, led the way. At dusk he came upon a

[1] *Bombay Courier*, May 7th, 1825.

[2] He writes: "Commodore Hayes has on all occasions rendered an aid the most effectual, and had it not been for the assistance afforded by the flotilla under his command, the arrival of the force before Arakan would have been almost impracticable. Every exertion was made by him to co-operate, and when insurmountable obstacles prevented the further approach of the gunboats to the scene of action he landed two 24-pounders and with the British seamen dragged them to the encampment before Arakan, rendering them available for any service on which they could be usefully employed."

[3] Hayes's despatches, *Bombay Courier*, June 11th, 1825.

stockaded entrenchment and found all the chief points defended with breastworks, while the river had been thickly planted with stakes. A passage was effected, and the troops were landed for the night, and lodged in the enemy's houses, whence they re-embarked next morning at four o'clock; and Sandoway was taken possession of on the 30th, thus completing the conquest of Arakan.

CHAPTER XVIII

HIS LAST YEARS

Hayes returns to Calcutta—He is thanked and knighted—Paints his patent of knighthood green—Efforts to obtain justice for the Bombay Marine officers from the East India Company —Sir John Hayes's last years at Calcutta—He sails with his wife for New South Wales and dies at the Cocos Island —Lady Hayes returns to Calcutta—Her old age and death.

GENERAL MORRISON found it impossible to effect a junction across the mountains with Sir Archibald Campbell's forces, although he made several attempts to do so. The important object of the war, however, being accomplished by the subjugation of Arakan, Hayes returned to Calcutta in the surveying ship *Research,* leaving Arakan on May 28th and arriving in Saugor Roads on June 4th, 1826.

At the conclusion of the war the conspicuous share taken in it by the officers of the Indian Navy was generally acknowledged. The Governor-General in Council bestowed high praise upon them, and also offered separately the cordial thanks of the Government to Commodore Hayes, Captain Hardy, senior captain of the Bombay Marine, and to other commanders and officers of the Bombay Marine.

The Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors passed a resolution which embodied a vote

of thanks to the British Navy and to the East India Company's ships.[1] The House of Commons and the House of Lords passed votes of thanks to the forces that had served in Burmah, and the East India Company's ships were separately praised for their "skilful, gallant, and meritorious exertions against Ava, which greatly contributed to the issue of the war."[2]

Feelings of bitterness were, however, aroused because Captains Marryat, the famous naval novelist, Chads, and Ryves were made Companions of the Order of the Bath, while no officer of the Bombay Marine was so honoured, although five cruisers of the Bombay Marine had served throughout the entire operations.[3]

Commodore Hayes was subsequently created a Knight Bachelor, an honour of little consideration when conferred for war services, and one that was probably somewhat galling to the veteran seaman. That he did not greatly value the distinction is certain, for it is still remembered in his own family that upon receiving his patent of knighthood he set diligently to work to paint it green!

Doubtless Commodore Hayes was not anxious for praise from the authorities "at home," as far as he himself was concerned, although no one was more jealous for the dignity of the service to which he belonged. His idea of loyalty to his King and Country was to fight for them to the best of his

[1] On November 24th, and December 13th and 19th, 1826.
[2] On May 8th and 14th, 1827.
[3] Low, "History of the Indian Navy."

ability, and the old records show how nobly he did so. He certainly must have realised that his efforts were underestimated, or in the alternative he must be credited with a natural modesty which rendered him averse to receiving acknowledgment of his exploits. The latter reason may have caused him to leave the world in ignorance as to the results of his voyage. Such a seaman could not have been unaware of its importance. For he must have known that he had visited lands which from earliest times had been secluded from the rest of the world, and where no European ship had ever reached. His purely Indian services were better known, and the Indian Government and public more fully recognised his work.

In 1828 the name of Commodore Hayes was once again brought into prominence, at an important meeting at India House, when the unsatisfactory position of the Bombay Marine and the want of sympathy shown to it by the Court of Directors was discussed. Captain Maxfield, an old friend and admirer of Hayes, who had served under him, made an able speech, analysing the defects in the Marine itself and dwelling upon the hardships which had been borne by the officers. Maxfield dilated upon the spirit always shown by Commodore Hayes, and eulogised his conduct in the Java war in refusing to permit the Chinese junks with Dutch treasure worth £600,000 on board to be made prizes. "The man who made such a sacrifice to promote their (the Company's) interests," said Maxfield, "was not then worth a

shilling. . . . His disinterestedness and his gallantry, of which their records possessed abundant proof, would in any other service but their Marine have obtained for him honour and distinctions."

Colonel Stanhope, a British officer who had served in the Bombay Marine, supported Maxfield's motion, and related the following ridiculous occurrence : " Commodore Hayes and his wife had been invited to dine with the Governor-General. The Commodore having the rank of colonel, the Governor thought it proper to lead out Mrs. Hayes to dinner, conceiving the precedence was due to her. This set the senior merchants' hearts on fire, and they in consequence wrote home long letters to the Court of Directors. They pondered over this weighty matter, and at last came to the resolution of ' uncommodoring the commodore.' Mr. Wynn, M.P., who considered questions of precedence, and who was in the habit of explaining them in the House of Commons, thought this very unfair, and reversed their proceedings. But," said Colonel Stanhope, " this was no laughable matter when they considered that an indignity had been offered to an old and meritorious officer whose brow was covered with wounds and honours." [1]

Shortly after her husband's safe return from Arakan, Mrs. Hayes proceeded on a visit to England. She returned at the end of the following year, and probably was accompanied either by her small son or else by a relative of her husband's,

[1] Low, " History of the Indian Navy."

as in the passenger list of the *Lady Flora*, Captain R. Fayrer, the ship in which she sailed from Portsmouth, on July 28th, 1826, the name of Mr. Hayes also appears. Mrs. Hayes reached India on December 11th, 1826.

During the latter part of his life Sir John Hayes continued to take a leading part in public affairs in Calcutta, particularly in everything connected with the mercantile interests of his country. In 1827 he spent much time in witnessing trials of speed between various steamships. Four years previously he had been elected a member of the committee formed to encourage communication by steam vessels between Great Britain and Bengal, and at a public meeting held on July 30th, 1828, he gave his warm support to Mr. Waghorn, who was then planning the formation of a line of steamers from Calcutta to England, *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope.

At the end of 1830 Sir John Hayes's health gave his friends cause for anxiety. Up to that time he appears to have been able to carry out his public duties, although the many hardships experienced during the Burmese war had undoubtedly shattered his iron constitution. It is doubtful, however, whether he would have taken the long journey prescribed for him by his medical advisers had not an incident occurred which greatly excited his sympathy and caused him to decide to do so promptly. The son of an old and valued friend, then a high Government official in Calcutta, was found guilty of breaking

a stringent law in connection with the slave trade, and was sentenced to banishment to New South Wales.

The affair caused great grief to Sir John's friend, and while the Indian Government was planning a mode of conveying the young man to Sydney, Sir John applied for and obtained permission from the Court of Directors to take a sea voyage to restore his health. As a personal favour, and having a great desire to visit that country, he asked whether he might convey the son of his friend to New South Wales. His request being granted, the Honourable Company's cruiser *Coote* was placed at his disposal, and he was told that he might take his own time to make the voyage. He embarked with Lady Hayes, accompanied by her maid, in June, but soon after leaving Calcutta became seriously ill and requested Captain Pepper, the *Coote's* commander, to land him at the Cocos, or Keeling Islands.[1] This coral group lies in the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean, 12° 9′ south of the equator and 96° 53′ east of Greenwich; it is some six hundred miles from Java, two thousand from Cape Leeuwin, West Australia, and the same distance from Ceylon. Here Sir John Hayes was removed from the ship to the residence of Captain Clunies Ross, formerly of the East India Company's service, whom he

[1] *Calcutta Gazette* and MS. letters. These islands are usually called Cocos Islands on Dutch maps, but Captain Ross usually referred to the group as Keeling. It was called after an Englishman of that name.

knew well; Ross had formed a settlement on one of the islands and lived there with his family in a comfortable wooden house.[1] All possible care and attention were given Sir John, but medical aid proved fruitless, and he died on July 3rd, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, his body being laid to rest on one of the lonely and beautiful islands of the group. It would seem almost certain that his burial place was on Pulu Atas, the southern and more distant portion of the island ring.[2]

When the news of Sir John's death reached Calcutta the sorrow experienced was very real. Every ship in the Hooghly hoisted its colours half-mast high. All classes of the community, both European and Asiatic, mourned him. Old and young, rich and poor, grieved that never in any ship, on any tide, would Commodore Hayes sail into port again. There was everywhere an

[1] Captain Ross, before retiring from the East India Company's service, commanded the cruiser brig *Mary Ann*, 360 tons, mounting twelve 12-pounders.

[2] In the history of the Cocos Islands, Dr. Wood Jones says that the original Ross settlement was made first upon the islet called Pulu Selma, but that in consequence of unfriendly relations with Hare, his partner, who had settled on Pulu Bras, Captain Ross moved to Pulu Atas. The Pulu Atas settlement was, however, only a temporary one, for the silting of the southern portion of the lagoon forced Ross's colonists back to Pulu Selma, where they could have adequate waterway for their boats. They returned about 1835–36.

Dr. Wood Jones also remarks: "In those days Cocos Keeling was a place of call for whalers for fresh water, and fresh provisions were always to be had there. . . . For many years the Australian horse ships called at the atoll to take on water and provisions and these visits were fairly regular."

universal feeling of regret for one who had been so long such a prominent figure in official and social circles in India, and whose naval career had been so distinguished and full of merit. In Bombay the sorrow was no less genuine, and the Government there published the following minute on the sad occasion :—

"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council, having received the intelligence of the death on the 3rd of July of Commodore Sir John Hayes, of the Indian Navy, feels it to be due to the memory of that gallant and lamented officer to record the high sense entertained by the Government of his valuable public services for a period of nearly fifty years."

Among the numerous eulogies written at the time of Sir John's death were the following lines, which appeared in the Government *Gazette*, Calcutta, August 22nd, 1831 :—

"THE COMMODORE.

AN EPICEDE, BY OSSIAN.

"Lament ! for the fate that consigns to the grave,
The generous, the frank, the beloved and the brave.
Lament ! ye whose hearts with no enmity cross'd
Can appreciate the worth which in him we have lost.
Lament ! though in vain we his death must deplore,
And thought may recall not the kind Commodore.

"That bosom where guile never harboured is chill.
And the heart of a true British sailor is still.
Oh ! never again on that brow shall we see
The stamp of a soul from all meannesses free :
And Hope droops—too conscious that nought can restore
To the breasts which bewail him the loved Commodore.

" In each pathway of life which his lot bade him tread
Still around him affection or glory was shed :
In his home's dearest circle, the peacefuller meeds,
In the cause of his country—the king-honoured deeds :
Chivalric in battle, humane when 'twas o'er,
Brave and gentle alike was the mourned Commodore.

" Hospitality beamed at his board—'twas her throne—
And she sighed when his old English spirit was flown ;
The wit free from sting, the laugh void of care,
And the welcome unblemished by coldness were there.
But the kindred and friends who so loved him—no more
Shall be smiled on and cheered by the good Commodore.

" With a child's trust in all and a man's fearless glow,
His hand never shrank from a friend nor a foe.
In peril when quailed it, of conflict or wave ?
Though much it was his—like a seaman—to brave.
In the storm or the fight heart of oak never bore
More unflinching the test than the staunch Commodore.

" He hath gone ! not unhonoured, unwept or unsung.
And though sorely with anguish some fond hearts are wrung,
Yet the voice of his fame consolation shall give,
While deep in their hearts his remembrance shall live ;
And a balm on the now wounded spirit 'twill pour
To think—how endeared was the old Commodore."

After leaving the Cocos Islands the *Coote* did not continue her voyage to Sydney, but proceeded to England, as, on the death of the Master Attendant, Captain Pepper " thought it best to alter the ship's course." [1] Lady Hayes and her maid were disembarked in mid-ocean and placed on board the *Austin* barque, Captain William Ladd, from Macao, bound for Calcutta, which was the first ship signalled by the *Coote* for that port. Lady Hayes and her maid were the only women

[1] *Calcutta Gazette.*

on board the *Austin*, in which they were destined to endure a sad and adventurous journey.

They had barely commenced their voyage when her captain lost his reason. He was a very powerful man and showed great cunning by the way in which he parried all efforts made to overcome him. Before actual suspicions as to his dangerous condition had been aroused, he had seriously wounded two of his officers. Afterwards he gave orders that none of the ports or companion hatches were to be closed, although a south-west monsoon was blowing which swamped the cabins and saturated everything in the ship. The sufferings then endured by Lady Hayes and her maid were terribly trying. For a considerable time they were compelled to wear their drenched clothes, as no dry apparel could be obtained. Meanwhile no one dared approach the lunatic captain, who was determined to keep the ship out at sea as long as possible, absolutely refusing to continue his course to Calcutta. By the time he was got under restraint Lady Hayes and her attendant were reduced to a state bordering upon nervous exhaustion. The latter became ill and soon after landing died from the terrors of the voyage, in spite of the fact that Lady Hayes herself nursed her with the greatest care and tenderness.

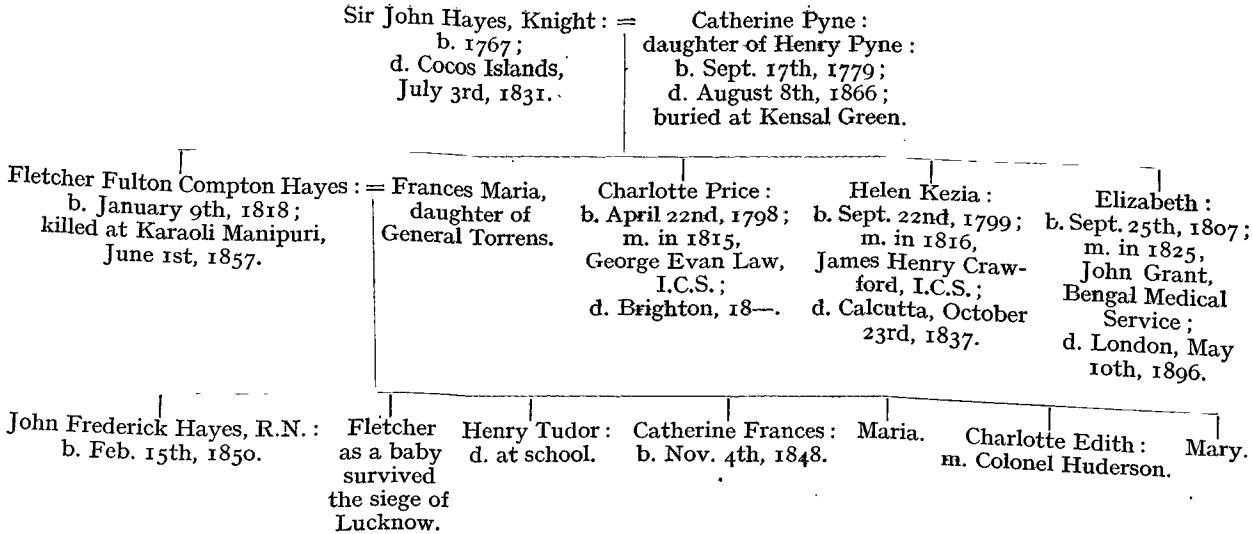
Lady Hayes survived her husband for some thirty-five years. Soon after his death she returned to Europe with her family and settled in London, but went out to India again in company with her son Fletcher, in 1836, when he entered

LADY HAYES.

[*From a painting in the possession of Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S.*

the Indian Army. Some of her grandchildren can still remember her well in her English home, and their descriptions paint her as a vivacious old lady, endowed with much shrewdness and wit. She retained a good memory and was able to recount thrilling stories of her past life, and especially of the days when her husband held prominent positions in the Indian Navy and when he was Master Attendant at Fort William. She died in 1866, and was laid to rest in Kensal Green Cemetery.

With this brief account of Lady Hayes's later years we close the story of Sir John Hayes's life and voyage. If still in existence, his journal may yet be brought to light, and doubtless will contain a complete narrative of his discoveries. In its absence the foregoing details must serve as a record of what he accomplished as an explorer. The French have awarded to D'Entrecasteaux a place of great honour among their navigators, and it is not too much to claim a niche among our English seamen for one who so skilfully, if all unconsciously, often followed in his track and at some points pressed onward where the French admiral had drawn back.


Sir John Hayes, Knight: b. 1767; d. Cocos Islands, July 3rd, 1831.
Catherine Pyne: daughter of Henry Pyne: b. Sept. 17th, 1779; d. August 8th, 1866; buried at Kensal Green.
Fletcher Fulton Compton Hayes: b. January 9th, 1818; killed at Karaoli Manipuri, June 1st, 1857.
Frances Maria, daughter of General Torrens.
Charlotte Price: b. April 22nd, 1798; m. in 1815, George Evan Law, I.C.S.; d. Brighton, 18—.
Helen Kezia: b. Sept. 22nd, 1799; m. in 1816, James Henry Crawford, I.C.S.; d. Calcutta, October 23rd, 1837.
Elizabeth: b. Sept. 25th, 1807; m. in 1825, John Grant, Bengal Medical Service; d. London, May 10th, 1896.
John Frederick Hayes, R.N.: b. Feb. 15th, 1850.
Fletcher as a baby survived the siege of Lucknow.
Henry Tudor: d. at school.
Catherine Frances: b. Nov. 4th, 1848.
Maria.
Charlotte Edith: m. Colonel Huderson.
Mary.

PART II

THE VOYAGE OF ADMIRAL D'ENTRECASTEAUX

CHAPTER I

EARLY FRENCH EXPLORATION IN TASMANIA

THE voyage of D'Entrecasteaux so immediately preceded that of Hayes, and the positions reached by the two explorers coincided so closely at certain points, that the narrative of the Frenchman's visit to Tasmania, and other countries often takes the reader into the same field of exploration. D'Entrecasteaux's experiences, therefore, are interesting not only for themselves but for the purpose of comparison with those of Hayes.

The *Recherche* and the *Espérance* each carried 16 guns and about 110 men. The Admiral sailed in the *Recherche*, Captain Huon de Kermadec, as second in command of the expedition, was given charge of the *Espérance*, and among the officers and scientists were representatives of many distinguished French families.

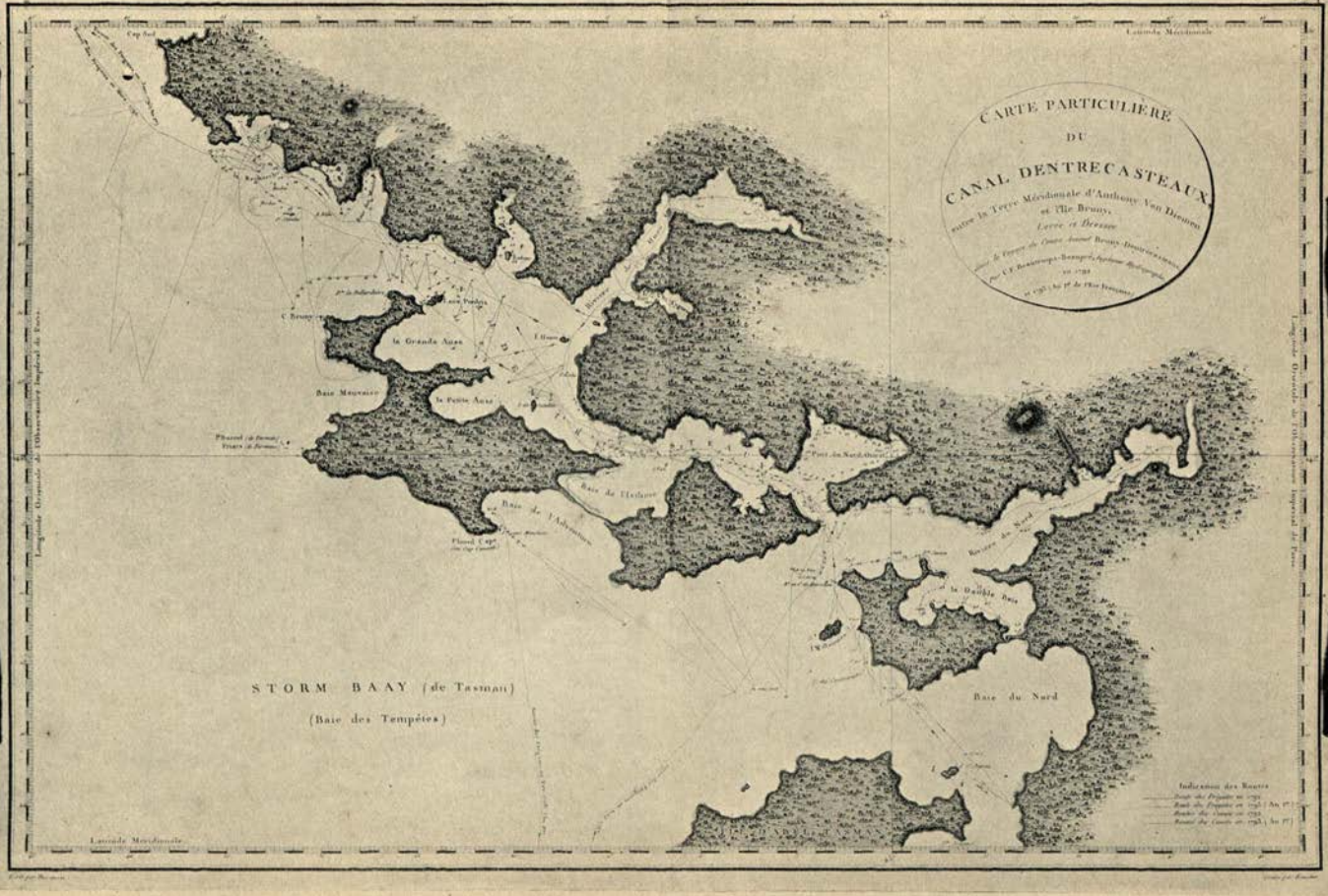
On the occasion of their first visit, the vessels arrived off the Mewstone Rock on the night of

April 20th, 1792. Next day it was seen that the coast was steep and mountainous, and some of the highest peaks white with snow. While looking for Adventure Bay, Ensign Willaumez, the officer of the watch, made a mistake in his bearings, and the vessels were brought into Storm Bay, not the Storm Bay of Tasman, but that which Captain Furneaux had mistaken for it.

At this time they were standing off the mainland a little to the south of the strait which now bears the name of their commander. D'Entrecasteaux despatched a boat from each ship to look for a harbour, with the result that the one sent from the *Recherche* under the command of Lieutenant de Saint Aignan went northwards and discovered an inlet where there was both wood and water. The good news was received on board too late to allow the ships to reach the harbour before nightfall, and the anchors were therefore let go in Storm Bay.

Next day the same boats were sent to sound the entrance of the inlet and on their return reported that the harbour within was well sheltered and the bottom muddy sand "where anchors would hold for ever."

Before daylight on the 23rd the *Recherche* weighed anchor to warp ahead, but the sea being almost calm the boats towed the ships separately into the harbour which D'Entrecasteaux named Port du Nord. Another harbour lying farther southward was christened Port du Sud, or Rocky Bay, and to the large bay in which both were


CARTE PARTICULIERE
DU
CANAL D'ENTRECASTEAUX
entre la Terre Méridionale d'Anthony Van Diemen
et l'Ile Bruny,
Levée en Decembre
Longitude Occidentale de l'Observatoire Impérial de Paris
Latitude Méridionale
la Grande Anse
la Petite Anse
Baie Mouvaise
Baie de l'Heduse
Baie de l'Adoucissement
Baie du Nord
la Double Baie
STORM BAAY (de Tasman)
(Baie des Tempêtes)
Indications des Routes

situated the Admiral gave the name Recherche Bay. A few bark huts were visible at the head of the harbour and the smoke of fires rose on the banks of a river (now D'Entrecasteaux River), which the boats tried to ascend, but their passage was blocked by masses of seaweed (*Fucus palmatus*) and fallen tree-trunks.

There were here some huge blue gums, whose leafy tops towered above the rest of the forest. In some places the tree trunks had been hollowed by fire, and in them the French thought the natives made their homes; the burnt-out recesses, it was observed, invariably faced the north-east, for the reason, it was conjectured, that they might form a shelter from south-westerly winds.

L'Abbé Bertrand and M. Pierson, the astronomers, erected their observatory on the northern point of the harbour, in latitude 43° 32′ 24″ south, and longitude 144° 36′ east of Paris. A garden was made at a spot at a little distance away by M. La Haye, who planted there cabbages, potatoes, radishes, cresses, endive, and other vegetables, brought from the various ports of call.

Parties from the ships spent a great part of each succeeding day in making fresh discoveries. Upon one of these outings M. Joannet, the surgeon of the *Espérance*, nearly lost his life by falling into a pool entirely concealed by weeds. Fortunately he was a good swimmer, and was able to save himself.

Most wonderful to the visitors was the silent

grandeur of the forests whose trees had been hitherto untouched by an axe. The spongy bark of the *Eucalyptus resinifera*, strewn in large pieces over the ground, greatly interested Labillardière, the naturalist on board the *Recherche*, and he named another species of the same family *Eucalyptus globulus*, because of the coat-button shape of the blossom's capsule. The carpenters refitted the frigates with the wood of this tree; although heavy it answered the purpose admirably. Several landscapes were painted by M. Piron, but the artist was unable to make sketches of the natives, who were only seen at a considerable distance, hurrying off at the first sight of a stranger. Their belongings, which they left behind in their camps, included baskets plaited from a species of sea rush (*Juncus acutus*), and water vessels of kelp shaped "like a bag for holding counters at play." Besides these, a few straggling huts and some remains of shellfish were all the traces to be seen of the inhabitants. The well-worn paths through the brushwood gave evidence of the existence of wild animals, which the French tried to hunt down. One of the sailors chased a kangaroo for some distance along the beach, and eventually drove it into the waves, where he killed it. Swans with shining black plumage and numbers of rare birds were also to be seen swimming in the creeks and bays.

While the naturalists were exploring on land, Lieutenant Cretin and M. Beaupré were sent by

ADMIRAL BRUNI D'ENTRECASTEAUX.

the Admiral to survey the coasts. They set out on April 27th, and on their return related that they had proceeded up a channel for some distance and at last had come to the conclusion that it was a strait. On April 30th the Admiral gave orders that two boats should return to survey this channel. Cretin and Beaupré went in the *Recherche's* boat as before, while La Grandière and Jouvency went in one sent from the *Espérance*. They sailed in a northerly direction up the channel as far as 43° 17′ south latitude, and on their return the officers told Admiral D'Entrecasteaux that Tasman's Head and Adventure Bay were not situated on the coast of the mainland, but formed parts of an island which this channel separated from Tasmania proper. This delighted D'Entrecasteaux, and he determined, if it were possible, to take his ships through the newly found passage.

Accordingly at sunrise on the morning of May 16th the frigates were towed to the entrance of Recherche Bay, and, sail having been set, they stood towards the opening of the channel. The summits of the most lofty mountains were white with snow, and to the north a thick smoke was rising. On the seashore westward of the ships, five natives were seen to quit their fire and walk along the beach. One carried a burning stick, with which he set fire to the vegetation at several spots, but the flames only blazed for a short time, and gradually they died out. The ships were prevented by a contrary wind, from

entering the channel, and they cast anchor at its mouth; but next morning at nine o'clock, the tide being favourable, they weighed and again stood towards the strait. Night fell before they passed through it, and it was dark when they anchored just inside the entrance.

The strait was named D'Entrecasteaux Channel, and the large island which formed its eastern shores Bruni Island in honour of the French Admiral. Cape Bruni, L'Ile aux Perdrix, Mussel Bay, Satellite Island, Point Riche, and many other places then received their names.

The morning of May 18th was very squally, but at eleven o'clock the wind having somewhat abated, Saint Aignan and Beaupré were sent in the Admiral's barge with orders to find a passage for the ships through the straits. Leave having been granted to several members of the expedition, Labillardière and Riche on the 20th visited L'Ile aux Perdrix, so called by them because they mistook the quail that they saw there for partridges. A quantity of wild parsley was gathered and taken on board by the naturalists, but the sailors so disliked the taste of it that they would not eat it. On this day the exploration of the channel made great progress. Two boats left the *Espérance*, and one in charge of La Senie and Jouvency discovered a fine harbour on the western shore, and named it Port Espérance. The second boat under Lieutenant Luzançay entered the mouth of a large river on the same side which was given the name of Huon River in

honour of Captain Huon de Kermadec, a small island at its mouth being called after the same officer.

In the meantime Captain Dauribeau and Lieutenant Cretin set out from the *Recherche* to survey Bruni Island. On seeing smoke rising from a wood they went to seek the cause of it, and came upon four natives sitting round their small fires cooking fish. The blacks fled when they saw the officers, leaving their lobsters broiling on the coals; but one tall muscular aboriginal, remembering that he had left his basket which was filled with pieces of silex, summoned up courage to come back for it, and passed close to Lieutenant Cretin with an air of absolute fearlessness. These savages were not of a very deep black, although they had woolly hair; some were naked, others had kangaroo skins covering their shoulders. In their retreat they abandoned about thirty baskets of plaited grass filled with crabs and shell-fish, while others contained pieces of silex wrapped in bark of a soft texture. It was found that the Tasmanians obtained fire by striking two pieces of silex together. In this, according to Labillardière, they differed not only from the aborigines of the east coast of Australia, but also from the natives of the South Sea Islands. He therefore inferred that they came from a different stock.

The barge which had been sent to look for a passage for the ships returned after four days' absence, and Saint Aignan and Beaupré reported that they had examined the whole length of the

strait. It ran northward to a point where it communicated with the true Storm Bay of Tasman, a distance of only ten leagues from the anchorage. The two officers informed the Admiral that in one part, Adventure Bay was separated from D'Entrecasteaux Channel by a tongue of land the breadth of which at the most was four hectometers, that is about two furlongs.[1] This was named Isthmus Saint Aignan, and the deep bay which indented its shore was called Isthmus Bay. Lieutenant Cretin, it was said, had previously discovered it. Two large coves to the south were called La Petite Anse (Little Cove) and La Grande Anse (Great Cove) respectively.

On the morning of the 24th the ships set sail, and on the 27th arrived within sight of the outlet to the strait, and there anchored. Boats from both vessels went on shore at this port, and some native canoes lying on the beach were examined, which were found to be formed of rolls of eucalyptus bark, bound together with knittles of grass. Some of the sailors met an old native woman in the same neighbourhood carrying baskets of fish. She received a handkerchief with a satisfied air, but the sight of a knife so frightened her that she jumped down a steep declivity and fled over the rocks.

Proceeding on his course D'Entrecasteaux left Tasmania and doubled Cape Raoul on May 28th,

[1] A part of the strait had been visited by Bligh's officers two months earlier, and had been believed by them to be the Frederick Henry Bay of Tasman.

giving it its title in honour of one of his pilots; and having rounded Cape Pillar sailed to New Caledonia. He continued to search the shores of many islands of the Pacific unsuccessfully for traces of the ships of La Pérouse, and returned to Tasmania in January, 1793. On this occasion he brought his ships into Port du Sud in Recherche Bay, to the south of his former anchorage, and made explorations there before sailing up the strait to complete the survey of its harbours. On this voyage the French were received by the natives in a most friendly manner, meetings with them being of daily occurrence. The fiddler of the *Recherche* played tunes to them, but found them quite indifferent to the sounds of his music; the women sang airs, however, that Labillardière thought similar to those of the Arabs of Asia Minor.

The exploration of two openings at the head of Storm Bay, which now engaged D'Entrecasteaux's attention, should be of special interest to all who know Tasmania in these later days. The expedition was made by a single boat in charge of Ensign Willaumez and M. Beaupré, who found the westernmost opening to be the mouth of a river, which they ascended for twenty miles. It was called Rivère du Nord by the French Admiral, but, as we know, it was explored in the following May to a higher point by Captain John Hayes, who renamed it the River Derwent, after his native river.

Willaumez examined the eastern opening

leading to a wide open bay, called by the French, Baie du Nord, but now familiar to us as Frederick Henry Bay. Proceeding eastward he explored the expanse of water, now called Norfolk Bay, which was conjectured by Willaumez to be connected with the Frederick Henry Bay of Tasman (now Blackman's Bay), and the bay where Marion had anchored. Upon this supposition Tasman's Peninsula was incorrectly named by the French, Abel Tasman's Isle.

Willaumez's boat coasted as far as Cape Pillar, and French names, chiefly those of D'Entrecasteaux's officers, were given to nearly every bay and point in that locality. One island was named Isle Willaumez, which shortly afterwards was renamed Betsey Island by Captain Hayes.

Leaving D'Entrecasteaux Channel the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* sailed southwards and entered Adventure Bay, where several inscriptions cut upon tree-trunks informed the French that Bligh had anchored in the bay in February, 1792. On February 28th, 1793, just a year after Bligh's visit, and three weeks after Hayes had quitted Calcutta, D'Entrecasteaux left Tasmania, having explored more of its shores than any other navigator had previously done.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH IN NEW CALEDONIA

BEFORE visiting Tasmania for a second time as described above, D'Entrecasteaux with his two ships first arrived, on June 17th, 1792, off the Isle of Pines at the southern extremity of New Caledonia, where, like a beacon during the night, a native fire could be seen burning. Thence the French commanders worked northwards, examining, as they went along, every point of the western coast, and standing in with both ships close to the reef of coral.

A member of the expedition describes how the edge of the reef rising to the surface of the waves shows even in calmest weather "a silvery rippling line as far as the eye can reach." D'Entrecasteaux and his officers, who were anxiously on the look out for an anchorage, did indeed see an opening in the reef, but as the ships approached it the waves tossed with such violence against the natural breakwater that the Admiral declined to send a boat to take soundings, and was content to bestow upon the harbour within the name of Le Havre Trompeur.

His ships continued to coast New Caledonia,

and on June 30th it was noticed that the reef was much broken, and a number of islets could be seen from the masthead. Labillardière thought that New Caledonia must be very thinly populated, for up to this time not a single canoe had been seen. After bidding farewell to New Caledonia, the French discovered a new island, and continued their route to the Solomons. They visited Bougainville and Bouka, belonging to that group, and anchored in Port Praslin, New Ireland, before they sailed through St. George's Channel. Having traced New Britain's eastern shore, they next interviewed some natives of the northernmost of the Admiralty Islands, and thence stood under easy sail until they made the Hermits (of Maurelle). On August 10th they were abreast of New Guinea, where, says Labillardière, the *Espérance* "narrowly missed running foul of the *Recherche* for the sixth time since our departure from Europe."

The Cape of Good Hope (New Guinea) being doubled, the vessels passed through Pitt's Strait and shaped a course to Amboyna, where the ships were replenished. D'Entrecasteaux put to sea again, and when he had surveyed Western Australia, steered to Tasmania, where he carried out the exploration of the south coast described in the previous chapter.

When D'Entrecasteaux left Tasmania for a second time in February, 1793, he took a more southerly route than before, shaping a course to the Friendly Islands, and thence to the New Hebrides. From this group he steered to New

Caledonia's north-eastern shore, which his ships had not previously visited, and anchored in the port of Balade [1] discovered by Captain James Cook.

During the stay of the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* at Balade the French saw much of the natives, who frequently visited their camp. The explorers also came into contact with various inland tribes when making their excursions on shore. The coast natives invariably followed parties from the ships towards the interior, prompted, apparently, by curiosity, but they seldom proceeded far, and evidently went in fear of meeting the inhabitants of those regions. Labillardière, the naturalist, was one of the first to observe that they were cannibals, and he relates how, on the arrival of the ships at Balade, the islanders came up to the more robust-looking Frenchmen and continually felt the muscles of their arms and legs, exclaiming "Kapareck," with an air of admiration. They seem to have made their meaning quite clear, and he describes the information as "not altogether pleasant to our feelings" when "one of these cannibals let us know . . . that the flesh of arms and legs was cut into slices and that the most muscular parts were considered a very agreeable dish." Labillardière adds the sapient remark: "It was then easy for us to explain why they so frequently felt our arms and legs." The natives, however, took pains to

[1] D'Entrecasteaux places Balade in 20° 17′ 29″ S. latitude and 162° 16′ 28″ E. longitude.

inform the French that it was only their enemies who were made into agreeable dishes.

The explorers thought the natives were like those of Tasmania, particularly in cast of countenance. They had the same woolly hair, and were nearly as dark in colour, although tall and substantially built, they were not well proportioned. Some had nets entwined round their heads and others wore two or three braids of grass covered with bat's hair fastened to their own hair which reached down to their waists. Feathers, ornaments of tortoise-shell, quartz and shells were thrust through large holes bored in their ears—and often these objects were so heavy that the lobe was dragged down almost to the shoulders. They did not tattoo themselves like the Maoris, but painted lines of a deeper black than their natural colour upon their breasts and limbs. As a rule they carried spears, clubs and slings, and in their girdles small bags of oval-shaped stones which, when thrown with the sling, caused severe injuries, and were thought to account for the fact that many of the natives possessed but one eye.

The clubs were curiously shaped, some being described as like scythes, and others resembling a pickaxe, while many were decorated with carved heads of birds or other objects. Their canoes were double ones, formed by joining two together by means of a platform, at the fore end of which the mast was placed, and upon it a fire was always kept burning on a small heap of soil or ashes. They were able to fish

within the reefs without much danger, and ate taro, yams, and a small spider, which was considered a delicacy.

Their huts, rounded in the shape of a bee-hive and thatched with palm leaves, were, as a rule, surrounded by hibiscus trees, and many of them were encircled by palisades.

In this northern part the mountains stretched in a south-westerly direction from the French camp. One very high mountain, however, says Labillardière, "lies towards the south-east."

The naturalist took part in the explorations, and on one occasion obtained from the summits of a succession of high peaks an expansive view of the surrounding country. In the valleys beneath him the bread-fruit tree and the cocoa-nut palm intermingled, and higher up tropical plants sprang from the crevices in the rocks. To the westward in particular the prospect appeared magnificent, although he noticed tracts of barren country. Outside the reef the ocean rolled tempestuously.

From here the French surveyed the route their ships had taken in the first voyage, and saw plainly the opening in the reef Le Havre Trompeur, which they had been unable to sound owing to the roughness of the sea. Looking down upon it from this height they perceived that if they had been able to enter they would have found a safe harbour within. Later on they met some inhabitants who informed them that a short time previously two large ships had been standing

along the coast to the northwards. Doubtless they were referring to the former voyage of the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*, for, as it was the month of April, Captain Hayes's ships were still in Tasmania.

In the opinion of the French naturalist, the smaller plants belonged chiefly to the same genera as those of Tasmania, notwithstanding the wide stretch of ocean dividing the two countries. Among the forest trees, which resembled those of the Moluccas, the sandalwood tree grew plentifully. Among the shrubs a jasmine of an unknown species, remarkable for its single leaves and for flowers of the colour of the marigold, was most admired. The natives did not chew the betel, although one was seen by Labillardière consuming a lump of soft steatite of green colour, as big as a man's two fists, and several others were noticed eating the same sort of earth—a common practice among all Pacific Islanders. The inhabitants of New Guinea use a mixture of betel nut and lime or chalk, which is eaten with the flower or catkin of the pepper plant or with its leaves.

The French were unfortunate enough to lose Captain Huon de Kermadec, Commander of *L'Espérance*, during their stay at Balade. He expressed a wish to be buried during the night upon the small island of Pudyoua, and asked that no monument might be raised to his memory lest the inhabitants should discover the place of his interment. His wishes were carried out, and on

May 8th, D'Entrecasteaux appointed Captain Dauribeau to the command of the *Espérance* in his stead.

While the French were exploring Balade, Hayes was similarly employed in Tasmania, and the French ships left the north-eastern coast of New Caledonia seven weeks before the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* reached its southern shores.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH IN THE PACIFIC (1793)

D'ENTRECASTEAUX, after leaving Balade, New Caledonia, passed an island which he had named Moulin's Island on his first voyage, and discovered a group called by him Huon Islands; he then steered to Egmont Island, one of the Santa Cruz group.[1]

On their arrival on May 21st, 1793, a sailor, named Mahot, belonging to the *Espérance*, while surveying a passage for the ships in a boat from the *Recherche*, was wounded in the forehead by an arrow. His assailant was a native from another island. Mahot at first felt little pain, and although his wound might have been dressed immediately by the surgeon on board the *Recherche* he chose to wait for medical aid until he got back to the *Espérance*. In a little time, however, the cut was to all outward appearances healing well.

The inhabitants of the whole of this group were armed with bows and arrows. The arrows were

[1] Egmont Island, whose native name is Nitendi, was named by Captain Carteret who visited it in August, 1767. It is said to have been discovered by Mendana in his second voyage in the year 1595. Carteret called this group Queen Charlotte Group.

beautifully made, tapering off to a very fine point, and sometimes covered with a smooth wax-like substance of a bright red colour. At first the French were not aware of the dangerous nature of the wounds inflicted with weapons thus prepared, but sailors, who have visited these islands long since the days of D'Entrecasteaux, have come to dread the terrible red poison which reckons among its more noted victims, Bishop Patteson [1] and Commodore Goodenough, and have learnt to be on their guard against the trèachery of the islanders.

Labillardière concluded that the natives had been little visited by Europeans, for they set no value on iron, although one had in his possession the end of a joiner's chisel mounted in a wooden handle in the same manner as their stone hatchets. On being shown some bits of red cloth they uttered cries of admiration and exclaimed excitedly, "Youlee! Youlee!" Their finery consisted of necklets and bracelets, collars of cut shell and others made of matting heavily ornamented with small bead-like shells. The bracelets of matting were worn on different parts of the arm. The mats and bags which they carried were woven with considerable skill in curious patterns from a fine lustrous flax dyed black and red.

Several islands of this group rose to a considerable height above the water. The native canoes were fitted with outriggers, their hulls

[1] Bishop Patteson was killed at the island of Nukupu in this neighbourhood, and Commodore Goodenough at Santa Cruz.

being hollowed out from trunks of trees. The natives themselves resembled the inhabitants of the Moluccas with the exception of a few individuals who evidently belonged to a totally different race. Some appeared to possess a strong admiration for white hair, and had covered their heads thickly with chalk or lime. Seen from the ships their whitened heads contrasted strangely with their black bodies.

Quitting Santa Cruz the ships sighted the southernmost of the Solomon Islands, and there short interviews were obtained with the natives of the Terre des Arsacides (Land of Assassins) of Surville, the coasts of which stretched far out into the sea in a series of points. Nearly all these little capes terminated in high pyramidal rocks crowned by clumps of bright green shrubs. Inland the hills were backed by mountains, and at the head of the small coves the villages could be seen. Owing to the currents the ships could not remain very long, and, proceeding on their course, came next to the island to which Surville had given the name of "Isle de Contrariétés"—a small, somewhat mountainous and thickly wooded island.

On the evening of their arrival here the *Espérance* hailed the *Recherche*, and her commander reported that during the preceding night, when near some strange island, his ship had been surrounded by a number of canoes, the largest of which, on the approach of day, paddled round the vessel and then stopped, when there were let fly from it at least a dozen arrows,

by one of which Desert, a member of the ship's company, was wounded. The arrows, however, had stuck harmlessly in the ship's side. The natives were already far off before a musket could be fired at them, but a ship's rocket, aimed with much precision, bursting close to their canoe, threw them into the greatest consternation.

The people at the Isle de Contrariétés were very friendly to the French, and bartered cocoa-nuts, which they called nioo (as do most of the other South Sea Islanders) for some iron nails. It was noticed that in several of their canoes there was the effigy of a dog, in shape resembling a bloodhound. The sterns of most of their boats were decorated with leaves of the pandanus.

On June 1st, when ranging the east coast of Guadal Canal, Mount Lamas was seen by D'Entrecasteaux. It was so named by Lieutenant Shortland, when voyaging from New South Wales to Batavia, who thought it equal in height to the Peak of Teneriffe, and recorded its latitude as 9° 58′ S. with longitude 160° 21′ E.

Here, for a great distance, shoals barred access to the coast, and the ships were thwarted by currents that set them to the eastward. On the 4th, Cape Hunter, so named by Shortland, was doubled.

On June 7th, about noon, Hammond's Islands (so named by Shortland) were sighted and, D'Entrecasteaux, on leaving these, determined to sail to the Louisiade Archipelago. While the ships were voyaging there the sailor Mahot, belonging

to the *Espérance*, who had been wounded seventeen days before at Santa Cruz, died after three days' illness. The wound, to all outward appearances, had quite healed, and fourteen days had elapsed before the man experienced the slightest bad symptom; but suddenly he was attacked with violent tetanus, from which he never recovered. Naturally many of his companions attributed his death to the arrow wound, and although Labillardière did not agree with them, they were probably right. The processes by which savages poison their arrows vary, but there is nothing surprising in death from tetanus supervening after such a period as that mentioned.

Before describing D'Entrecasteaux's exploration of the Louisiades, it may be well to remind our readers that another Frenchman, Bougainville, on his return to Europe, in 1768, had told of the existence of land in these waters, and is generally known as their discoverer. Fifty years before the visit of Bougainville, an imperfect and confused account of land had been brought back to Holland by the captain of the Dutch yacht *Geelvink* (yellow hammer), who, after surveying New Guinea, reached the northern coast. The description given by the captain of the *Geelvink*, however, was proved incorrect as to the Louisiades, and this early Dutch discovery remains open to doubt. Torres is also said to have seen the western end of the archipelago.

Bougainville, thinking that it was a gulf, named it Gulf Louisiade, in honour of his Royal

Master, Louis XV. He continued his course until he came to Orangerie Bay, and, turning back to the eastward, named Cap de la Délivrance, afterwards pursuing his voyage to the Solomon Islands. Owing to the illness of his crew, Bougainville was unable to survey the land, but he wrote in his journal with regard to it: "I have seldom seen a country that presents a prospect so beautiful,"—words which many navigators have since echoed, for these islands of the Pacific are especially noted for their exquisite scenery.

D'Entrecasteaux's journal contains one of the earliest descriptions of them. Directing his course to the south-west, his ships, on June 11th, came in sight of an island called by the French Rossel Island, where Captain Hayes soon afterwards landed. D'Entrecasteaux saw a little island to the southward of Cap de la Délivrance,[1] the coast of which appeared to form a harbour with good shelter. Unfortunately, a line of breakers, extending westward as far as eye could see, prevented D'Entrecasteaux examining it, and compelled him to exercise extreme caution.

On June 14th the ships were in considerable danger. He made up his mind to try for a passage to the northward between some low-lying islands that he could see in that direction. Night, however, came on, and the ships were becalmed in a very

[1] Named in 1803 Adele Island by M. Rualt Coutance in honour of his ship *L'Adele*, a French privateer, then voyaging to New South Wales.

narrow channel, rendered more dangerous by strong currents and reefs, and it was with satisfaction that in the morning he found the open sea lying not far ahead of him.

Native huts had been seen near the shore on both sides as the ships passed to the northward, and a boat had been sent off at Rénard Islands to take soundings, but not a single native was observed until latitude 10° 8′ S. and longitude 149° 37′ E., when, after doubling a cluster of islets, the ships were brought close in to the shores of a large island (St. Aignan). Here about fifteen natives came out of their huts and walked down to the beach. Three of them got into a canoe with an outrigger, and followed the vessels, which at the time were going too fast to allow it to come up with them. Another larger canoe then appeared, carrying a curious sail, nearly square, which enabled it to overtake the French vessels, and D'Entrecasteaux thereupon brought them to near Bonvouloir Islands. The natives, however, would not come alongside, and an officer of the *Recherche* jumped overboard and swam to them. They seemed nervous as they watched him approach, and did not show any desire to possess the presents which he offered them.

On June 18th, in 9° 53′ S. latitude and 149° 10′ E. longitude, two more canoes under sail were seen, each carrying twelve men. These watched the ships with great attention, but respectfully kept their distance. Others afterwards approached nearer, and the amazement of the

savages was unrestrained when they caught sight of a young negro who had been taken on board the *Recherche* at Amboyna. He tried to talk with them in the Malay language, but they could not understand him. However, they were friendly, and offered yams to the French.

One man among them, who was as black as a Mozambique negro, and remarkably like one, wore only ornaments of shells and bracelets The French were once invited to land, but owing to the rapidity of the currents which carried the ships westward, they were unable to do so, possibly a fortunate circumstance as these people afterwards proved very treacherous. Two of their canoes followed the *Espérance* for some distance, and quite suddenly the men in them stood up and, without the slightest provocation, pelted the French sailors with stones, only desisting after musket shots had been fired at them, when they turned instantly and paddled away. Notwithstanding this incident, next day natives came alongside the ships to barter, but behaved with great dishonesty, for as soon as they got hold of the articles they wanted, they kept them, and would not give anything in exchange.

On the 19th, again the French commanders found that during the night they were passing over shoals which were plainly distinguishable by the light of a new moon. By taking frequent soundings it was ascertained that the vessels often were in less than five fathoms of water, and currents kept driving them towards the coast.

This was close to De Welle Island, which is said to have been the first landing-place of D'Entrecasteaux in the Louisiade Archipelago.

Trobriand Islands were passed on the 21st, and on June 25th, just three days before Hayes had reached New Caledonia, D'Entrecasteaux sighted the high lands of New Guinea, bearing from south-west to north-west. Labillardière's translation gives the latitude as 8° 7′ S. and 146° 39′ E. Following the land to the north-west, the ships on June 27th arrived in a large gulf which was called Huon Gulf in memory of Captain de Kermadec. It was shut in between some high mountains, the most lofty of them trending to the northward, where they joined the coastline which there forms King William's Cape, so named by Dampier in honour of William III.

For two days the ships lay becalmed, and on the 29th made sail for Dampier's Strait. On the following day King William's Cape came in sight, and shortly afterwards the west coast of New Britain. In passing through Dampier's Strait, the island upon which a volcano had been seen burning by Dampier was observed bearing west, but the volcano was extinct. There was a small island with a conical peak from whose summit a thick smoke burst at intervals, and in the afternoon a quantity of burning refuse fell on the east side of the mountain and ran down into the sea, causing the waters to bubble and thick clouds of steam to rise.

D'Entrecasteaux sailed along the western coast

of New Britain, discovering fresh islands as he went and with the aid of the currents made his way to the northern entrance of St. George's Channel. On July 9th he left New Britain for the Admiralty Islands. There the first symptoms of an illness that was to prove fatal to him showed themselves, although at first his condition was in no way serious.

After his death on July 21st, Dauribeau succeeded him as commander. On August 2nd the ships passed the Traitor's Islands, and on the 11th they doubled the Cape of Good Hope of New Guinea, reaching Waygiou, or Waigiu, five days later. They remained there until August 28th, when they proceeded to the island of Bouro, where they anchored on September 4th, 1793.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPEDITION DISPERSED

THE French, who had long since tired of deserted coasts and native villages, thoroughly enjoyed their stay at Bouro. Labillardière took great interest in the island on account of the houses and streets, in addition to the lofty trees and the dye-woods that he saw there. Behind the town were planted two long avenues of teak trees, which he tells us were nearly forty metres in height.

Continuing their voyage, the frigates arrived off Surabaya on October 19th, and the first boat sent from the *Espérance*, under the command of Lieutenant de Trobriand, to ask the Governor's permission for the vessels to enter the port, did not return—a circumstance which caused Dauribeau much anxiety, as he feared that it had been captured by the pirates who thronged this part of Java. His ships, however, needed water and fresh provisions badly, and many of the men were seriously ill with scurvy, so he was forced to despatch a second boat with a letter to the Dutch authorities asking for assistance and for information as to the cause of Trobriand's absence. On

the 25th a communication was received from Mérite, the officer in charge of the second boat, saying that both he and Trobriand were detained as prisoners by the Dutch, and informing Dauribeau that Holland and France were at war.

Eventually two pilots came off to take the vessels into port, and a short time afterwards the Council sent a message to the effect that, in accordance with instructions received from Batavia, every possible facility would be afforded to the French Commander. The *Recherche* and *Espérance* were then brought into the harbour of Surabaya, where they came to anchor. Ten days later the Council revoked the permission to reside in the town, which it had given to the crews, and with the exception of the sick all the members of the expedition were ordered to return on board the ships.

Meanwhile Dauribeau, who was a Royalist, had heard from Europe the news of the sanguinary proceedings of the Revolutionists in France, and of the death of the king, and had learnt that war was being waged not only between Holland and France, but also between France and England; and, having considered the situation, he determined to hoist the white flag of the monarchy, and place himself under the protection of the Dutch.

As soon as the officers and crews of the French vessels became acquainted with the state of affairs at home, they separated into two parties, some being in favour of the Republic, and some against it, and so high ran the feeling between the

parties that the officers ceased to share a common table, and to take their meals together.

The vicissitudes which the members of the expedition afterwards experienced have perhaps been rarely exceeded. When the white flag was hoisted by Dauribeau it was saluted by all the Dutch artillery, and the voyage was considered at an end. The officers, with some exceptions, followed their captain's example and adopted the white cockade, the exceptions recorded being Williaumez, Le Grand, Laignel, Riche, Ventenat, Piron and Labillardière, who, on their siding with the Revolutionists, were arrested by the Dutch troops. By order of the Council at Surabaya, these were taken by land to Batavia and detained in different fortresses until an opportune time presented itself to transport them to France. Jurien de la Gravière and his friend Beautemps-Beaupré lived together on shore for a short time, but afterwards they too were regarded as Revolutionists, and were imprisoned. At Dauribeau's intercession, however, the former was released and permitted to serve again on board the *Recherche*.

The French Government, on hearing of the events which had taken place, forwarded despatches to Surabaya, recalling Dauribeau and his unfortunate ships. Dauribeau, upon receiving the summons home, immediately set out for Samarang, where he died on August 22nd, 1794.

Rossel, who succeeded him, was permitted, as senior officer, to take charge of the journals, charts, and observations relating to the expedition. The

collections of natural history were placed in the hands of the Royalist scientists, Labillardière's specimens being given into the care of La Haye, one of the gardeners (jardiniers) of the expedition.[1] Among the plants there were a number of seedlings of the bread-fruit tree, for which La Haye gave their owner a receipt.

Unfortunately Rossel was forced to deliver up possession of the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* to the Dutch Council in return for the advances made by them, and for the money they had disbursed in supplying the wants of the crews from the time of their arrival in Java. Several of the French availed themselves later on of the opportunity of returning to France afforded by some Dutch Indiamen which left Batavia in January, 1795. The convoy was escorted by a single frigate—the *Amazone*. Rossel and Trobriand sailed in the *Hooghly*, while Jurien de la Gravière, Longuerue, and the purser of the *Recherche* obtained passages in the *Dordrecht*, and others sailed in different vessels. The fleet had barely passed through the Straits of Sunda when some of the ships' longboats, in which were a number of French officers, were wrecked in a gale off the coasts of Sumatra. St. Aignan regained the land safely. Trobriand

[1] These plants La Haye seems to have regarded as his own property (see Indian newspapers); and Labillardière's journal ends with the following remarks: "The bread-fruit trees which I had entrusted to the gardener, La Haie, have been conveyed to the Isle of France with some which that gardener cultivated; some have been sent to Cayenne, and others to Paris, where they have been deposited in the hot-houses of the Jardin des Plantes."

was not so fortunate He suffered agonising experiences while keeping himself afloat for seven hours during the night, until he was rescued by a Malay pirogue, and restored to his ship.

Following this misfortune, a sickness which attacked the French was even worse than the tempest. Jurien saw many of his comrades cut off by it, including M. de Longuerue. The purser of the *Espérance*, however, lingered for some time, his death ending an extraordinary life-story, until then unknown. He had escaped the various diseases which had thinned the ranks of his comrades during the long voyage, but could not withstand the climate of Java. On board, his reserved manners had been most noticeable, and he was regarded as a very solemn person, who never was seen to take part in any amusement, but preferred his own society. That he was jealous of his dignity was apparent, as upon one occasion when a volunteer among the officers jokingly remarked that his face was more like that of a woman than of a man, he promptly challenged the officer to a duel, and proved himself an expert swordsman, or sufficiently so to inflict a severe wound upon his opponent.

His death, however, revealed the cause of his sensitiveness and the accuracy of the observation which had so provoked his anger. Longuerue was, in fact, a woman, who, as she lay dying, confided to M. Jurien de la Gravière the story of her past, and of how, being helpless and alone in the world, she had determined to get her living as a man.

In pursuance of this resolve, before the vessels left France, through the kindness of the sister of Captain Huon de Kermadec, she had obtained the post of purser in the expedition. Her death, it is recorded, was as stoical as had been her endurance of the rough life throughout the voyage.

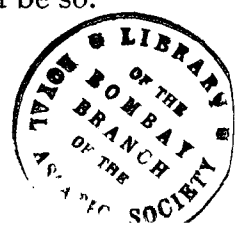
Meanwhile, many changes were taking place in Europe; the revolutionary spirit had pervaded Holland, and before the Dutch vessels had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch, having been brought into subjection by the French, had changed sides, and were themselves at war with England. On April 4th, at Table Bay, Jurien de la Gravière quitted the *Dordrecht* and went on board the *Hooghly*, which was bringing home the naturalists, but Rossel himself left this ship at the Cape in order to continue his voyage in a Dutch warship. The *Hooghly* was captured off St. Helena by H.M.S. *Sceptre*, and the vessel, on board which Rossel had embarked with his papers and charts, met the same fate nearer home, being taken as far north as the Shetlands.

Finding himself in the hands of the British, M. Rossel accepted Lord Spencer's offer of employment in the Hydrographical Department at Whitehall, and there, until the French *emigrés* were permitted to return to France, he continued to write the History of D'Entrecasteaux's Voyage. It is a story of considerable achievement, which made the name of D'Entrecasteaux famous as a navigator, and its ending cannot fail to arouse the sympathy of those who read it.

D'Entrecasteaux has been blamed for his dilatoriness in remaining so long in Tasmania, and for wasting time there instead of contriving to search for La Pèrouse. In respect of this indictment, sailors can judge him best; he certainly overcame great difficulties, covered long distances of ocean, and made many discoveries, and to him we owe much of our first knowledge of many islands in the Pacific.

He remained at his post with his dwindling crews until the conclusion of his explorations, but died before he could bring the ships into civilised waters. His officers survived him, not to return to their native country and receive the honours which he and they had earned, but to succumb in turn to disease after learning that the King, under whose orders they had sailed from France, had perished on the scaffold, or to find their country torn by revolution while they themselves, disunited and dispersed, became the prisoners, first of Holland, and later of England.

To-day D'Entrecasteaux's name survives in Tasmania, in Western Australia, and in New Guinea, while those of his officers and crew stud the maps of the Pacific and distinguish many of the islands and gulfs, straits and points bordering the track taken by his frigates nearly 120 years ago. It is surely meet that it should be so.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